Localities of Memory, Localities of Mobilisation: British Military Communities and the Great War, 1919-1939

O'Keeffe, Eleanor Katherine

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Eleanor Katherine O'Keeffe
School of History, QMUL

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Abstract

This thesis examines the role of British localities in the production of military force during the 1920s and 1930s. I argue that, during an era so disenfranchising for the armed forces in national politics and culture, the 'Local' provided a haven for servicemen and military units. Rather than theorising mobilisation as a set of state-centred economic or technocratic proscriptions, this research takes the social and cultural renewal of military units as a starting point. Drawing on a range of historical and anthropological methodologies, I have set out to uncover what were – to borrow Foucault's phrase – 'regimes of truth': multiple ideological currents and social contexts that legitimised service identities during this period. Local spaces are not only useful arenas for dissecting these operations; local people and identities were crucial formative elements in these processes.

Two case studies have provided the ground for this investigation: Newcastle and Glasgow. The thesis dissects the body of the British military machine at these entry points, viewing the configuration of military and naval power at ground level and the emergence of manpower from the collision between state directives and local society. It also examines the communities (soldiers, veterans) that arose through this. Focus moves from military to urban spaces, revealing the characters (pressmen, politicians) and practices (sociability, ritual, performance) that legitimised these communities. Much of this cultural work evoked the memory of the Great War and here the thesis intervenes in academic debates surrounding Commemoration after 1918. The final chapter unites these perspectives in a chronological elaboration of the period 1935-1939, detailing the ground level effort for national and civil defence. As well as enlivening our understanding of 20th century mobilisation, this research explores the depths of British local and national identities and the intricate ways in which the armed forces were framed within both.

Acknowledgements

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There are other academics whose input must be recognised. I would like to thank, particularly, Professor Sir Hew Strachan and Dr Helen McCartney, who dedicated some of their valuable time to read the thesis and examine it. It was a real privilege to sit down with these academics and discuss my ideas in such detail. During the research there were others who fielded my questions on varying points of research or subject expertise. Richard Grayson's guidance on service records went above and beyond the call of duty and proved invaluable. Stella Moss and Laura Ugolini may not realise how helpful their correspondences were to my work, but they pointed me to sources and approaches that deepened my analysis. Going further back, I would not have embarked on this path had it not been for the excellent teaching I received as student at UCL, now over a decade ago: Rebecca Spang still inspires me to think deeply and read widely.

Archivists in Glasgow and Newcastle have been instrumental to this research. Thanks are due to Nerys Tunnicliffe, Barbara Mclean, and Michael Gallagher at Glasgow City Archives. Not only did they perform feats of archival magic in the identifying of lost or misplaced collections, they ameliorated the problems of long distance research in so many ways. Joyce Steele and Sandy Leishman gave me free rein in the archives at the RHFM at short notice, with much humour, tea, and appreciated patience. Barrie Duncan at South Lanarkshire rifled through boxes and shared a huge amount of digital resource. Thanks are due, too, to the staff at the Lowland Reserve Forces and Cadets Association who opened cupboards, drawers and cabinets to help me on my quest.

In the north-east, all the staff of the Tyne and Wear archives must be thanked for dealing with my many tickets and providing advice on collections. Lesley Frater at the Fusiliers Museum Alnwick met endless requests for appointments and material, and helped me to exhaust several research paths, for which I am exceedingly grateful.

Lastly, to my family, much love and many thanks. My grandfather, Umpa, and my second grandmother, Sylvia Dalton, provided good company in the north-east during my researches – a rare time together that became even more important to me after Umpa's death in 2012. To Haldane and Margaret Tait - thank you for the 'home away from home' in Edinburgh. My parents, Eugene and Vicky, have been a limitless resource of support of every kind, as they always have been. I have to admit that I have been, in part, driven by a wish to make them proud. My parents-in-law, Anthony and Julia, have also been incredibly understanding and helpful. In Anthony, I found a fellow Great War enthusiast and, happily, a battlefield expert who gave me a vivid appreciation of the combat zone during family holidays to northern France.

To Huw and Arlo: Arlo's life has been intertwined with this thesis. He will not remember keeping me company during long trips away, becoming an archival celebrity of a sort in doing so. Photographs of his earliest years mingle with municipal minute books, veterans' associations' dinner menus, and press pictures of military parades on my hard drive. They still surprise me when I'm seeking something out of my digital store, as does the occasional Lord Mayor who pops up, saluting, in our family albums. For Arlo, my writing up period meant frequent 'Daddy days out' – adventurous escapades to all sorts of wonderful places. I hope he will keep those memories and cherish them. He's now his own incredible little person, utterly free of this thesis, developing a love of books and making things. I'm excited to see where that might take him. To his father, Arlo's partner in adventure during those months: I am having real trouble acknowledging everything you have done for me, because it seems too difficult to communicate the totality of it. I would not have started this without you, I certainly could not have finished it. So this thesis is dedicated to you and our beautiful son.

Abbreviations

DLI Durham Light Infantry
DRO Durham Record Office
FMA Fusiliers Museum Archives (Alnwick)
GCA Glasgow City Archives
GCUA Glasgow Caledonian University Archives
GULSC Glasgow University Library Special Collections
HLI Highland Light Infantry
KOSBMA King's Own Scottish Borderers Museum Archives
LRFCA Lowland Reserve Forces & Cadets Association
NCL Newcastle Central Library
NECE North East Coast Exhibition (1929)
OCA Old Comrades Association (generic)
QOCHA Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders Association
RHFMA Royal Highland Fusiliers Museum Archives
SAWVA South African War Veterans Association
SLCA South Lanarkshire County Archives
TWA Tyne & Wear Archives

Introduction

Two distinct mobilising events, separated by years of peace – this assumption pervades historical studies of the First and Second World Wars. During these momentous years of 'Total War', nation states engaged millions of citizens in the prosecution of war efforts, worldwide. Citizens filled the ranks of armed forces, they manned air defence batteries, and they powered industrial war machines. In doing so, they bore an unprecedented death toll and mass grief, as well as accepting stringent restrictions on their lives. Whilst other societies fractured, British society remained largely resilient, allowing the nation to endure to victory. Yet, mobilisation – we are told – ended with 'demobilisation'; after 1918 and 1945: these exceptional war machines were unwound and the British returned to peaceable normality.[1]

But how did British society survive the pressures of the First World War to then be able to mobilise so effectively for a second global conflict twenty years later? Existing studies have focused on the nature and structure of wartime society, but this thesis takes a new approach by seeking an answer in the British peacetime locality and, specifically, in its relationship with local military structures and organisation. It argues that mobilisation was not a process unique

[1] Works on mobilisation for both wars are too numerous to list. A recent study, which acknowledges the importance of the longer term regional context to mobilisation, but still retains the focus on 1939-45, is Philip Ollerenshaw, *Northern Ireland in the Second World War: Politics, Economic Mobilisation, and Society 1939-45* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).

to wartime in twentieth century Britain, or bounded by artificial divisions between war and peace. Mobilisation was born out of locally driven and sustained peacetime customs that underwrote the capacity of British military power.

This thesis is the story of the production of military power from the ground upwards, the first detailed analysis of the place of the peacetime locality in the British war machine. It presents the reality of how the state's military power was configured at local level and how the state effectively drew resource from the locality. The study examines how military groups constructed a positive identity, rooted in local society, and the cultural work that grounded it in local life. It penetrates and charts civic-military relations, detailing how this mutually reinforcing relationship was constituted and what forces decided its course. This thesis reviews army-societal relations in a vital but underappreciated context.

In reviewing these processes, however, this study also works at a much broader level to understand the integration of the armed forces within ideas of local and national identity. In seeking out the multiple ideological currents and social contexts that attached the armed forces to local life, it gives a descriptive reality to the vague notion of societal support for the military usually encompassed by the anodyne, unspecific phrase 'popular militarism'. It shows how, and why, the military remained deeply embedded in local life, but in doing so suggests how Britain could remain one 'military community'. By linking these practices of mobilisation in peacetime with remobilisation of 1935-38, it illustrates the continuity between the Wars, which has been seen as central to the 'historiographical agenda'. I argue that Britain's successful wartime mobilisation had deep, local roots. [2]

[2] Pierre Purseigle, 'Warfare and Belligerence Approaches to the First World War' in Purseigle (ed.), *Warfare and Belligerence: Perspectives in First World War Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), p.3.

Localities & Mobilisation: Glasgow and Newcastle Upon Tyne.

The British locality has been chosen as the subject of this investigation for several reasons. The first point is a simple one: the armed forces had an important geographical reality. If we are to consider army-society relations, we also have to appreciate how military power was configured on the ground in its totality and the interactions that resulted from that fact of placement. The infrastructural developments of 'territorialisation', the intentional grounding of regular and volunteer infantry regiments in local life, will invite more discussion in Chapter 1. As well as intentionally grounding some parts of the armed forces within localities, other geo-strategic factors and socio-economic factors influenced decisions on the location of naval bases (and naval volunteer units), coastal defences, and, in the inter-war period, air units.[3] These forces combined to manifest a military presence on the ground in different ways. Historians, whilst interested in 'territorialisation' or 'localisation' have tended to view these aspects with regards to separate elements of military force.[4] This study argues that, to understand how military and society inter-relate, we need to see exactly where these two meet.

This thesis has, therefore, selected two entry points to dissect the military machine and find those meeting points: Glasgow and Newcastle-upon-Tyne. In their configuration of military power at ground level, detailed in Chapter 1, each was unique, but neither was exceptional in their experience of military structures. Glasgow's numbers were more impressive than Newcastle's, which had a much smaller population. There were constituencies with much more significant ties to the structure of the armed forces (Aldershot, Portsmouth, Chatham). Equally, there were communities that the military depended on far less, or hardly at all. Where they differed was in their particular connections to the military/naval-

[3]K Maurice Jones, *The History of Coast Artillery in the British Army* (Uckfield: Naval and Military Press, 2005). I M Philpott, *The Royal Air Force: an Encyclopedia of the Inter-war Years* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2005-8).

[4] Edward M Spiers, *The Army and Society, 1815–1914* (London: Longman, 1980); Ian Beckett, *The Amateur Military Tradition 1558–1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991).

industrial complex: both were powerhouses of shipbuilding and engineering with significant expertise and specialisms in the production of warships.

They have been chosen, however, less for their perceived typicality, or exceptionality. To a certain degree, *any* locality could provide ground for this investigation and their results would be of equal worth and importance. These particular locales have been chosen more because they tend to be marginalised in historical scholarship. If Glasgow is perceived to have attracted a great deal of scholarly attention in Scottish urban historiography, there are good reasons for asserting it has still not been adequately appreciated, considering its size, complexity, and importance. [5] This is particularly the case in terms of its twentieth century history. For Newcastle, one recent collected work, and two doctoral theses on the 19th century city, stand for the entirety of modern academic scholarship. This is inadequate for a city that had undoubted regional significance, even if it was not quite one of the civic leviathans of the Victorian urban landscape.[6]

In selecting locality as its remit, this thesis does more than to simply record local feeling. These localities were 'sites of mobilisation': they directly contributed to the reproduction of military force, even in peacetime. This was not simply coincidence of place and recruit. Chapter 2 of this thesis argues that the recruitment structures of the inter-war regular British army were localised, which is contrary to current orthodoxy on the subject.[7] Indisputably, however, the locality remained the manpower base of the volunteer throughout.

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[5] E Cameron, 'Glasgow is going round and round: some recent Scottish urban history' in *Journal of Urban History* (30), 2003, pp.276-87. Manchester has attracted countless historical studies and continues to do so. Glasgow housed nearly a quarter of the Scottish population during the first half of the twentieth century.

[6] M Calcott, 'The Municipal Administration of Newcastle upon Tyne 1835-1900 (Unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1988); Kota Ito, 'The Making of the Civic Community: Newcastle upon Tyne, 1850-1900' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leicester, 2006); Robert Colls & Bill Lancaster (eds.), *Newcastle upon Tyne: A Modern History* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2001). Tristram Hunt, *Building Jerusalem: the rise and fall of the Victorian City* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2004).

[7] David French, *Military Identities: the regimental system, the British Army, and the British People, c. 1870-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p.47.

Furthermore, even if estimates, establishment, or recruitment figures never reached numbers desired by many army pundits, men were still joining the army and seeing out their service as Territorials and Regulars. This has much to do with the social, cultural and economic dynamics of localities.

But the term 'mobilisation' is embraced to refer to a more dynamic, active process of effort, one that must start with a discussion of the concept of 'legitimacy': the operations that gave the armed forces a sense of purpose and a place in the social world. Theorists of army-society relations have approached this in different ways. For Anthony Forster, 'legitimacy' rests with national political institutions in the case of modern democratic societies. The armed forces are 'organisational entities shaped for a range of purposes which are located around the controlled use of violence'.[8] It is governments who lay out the parameters of what those purposes are, set budgets and establish the remit of the armed forces through various channels of 'military political discourse': white papers, ministerial documents, defence reviews and parliamentary statements.[9]

In this model, legitimacy is an on-going creative process, but it is historical and contingent on context. Nations must constantly remake legitimacy because the roles demanded of the armed forces are subject to change. At any one historical moment, determined by a variety of 'functional…but also social and political factors', they may be required to balance one or several of the following: "National security, nation-building, regime define domestic military assistance, military diplomacy."[10] Forster's dynamic definition of armed forces-societal relations thus highlights the civil servant, the government minister, and the politician as the primary manufacturers of military legitimacy.

From this state-centred perspective, it follows that legitimacy was, if not lacking, certainly lack-lustre in the inter-war period. Successive governments found it increasingly difficult to accommodate the historic fact of the armed

[8] Anthony Forster, *Armed Forces and Society in Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p.74.
[9] Ibid., p.80
[10] Ibid., pp.76-8.

forces with more urgent political priorities in an unpromising economic climate, necessitating significant financial retrenchment.[11] At the same time, the international climate in the post-war world inspired a foreign policy which, for a period, foregrounded collective security and international disarmament as its most vital objective and won considerable public sympathy.[12] These shifts did not destroy the capability of the armed forces, but they did erode its status, and the British army felt the impact of these policies the most.[13]

Other participants contributed to 'legitimacy' during this time. As Helen McCartney has recently argued in relation to the 'Military Covenant', it is not just how the State justifies the military that counts, but whether military personnel *feel* justified and accepted. Legitimacy rests fundamentally with civil-military relations because:

> the ways in which a society and its armed forces view and interact with each other can have profound effects on how force is used, on the character, size and legitimacy, and on the experience and commitment of service personnel.[14]

Legitimacy, in this reading, is more about a sense of belonging communicated by society and felt by serving men and women, than it is about white papers and political pronouncements, although political considerations must have had a part to play in creating that feeling. From this perspective, once more, the inter-war period was not friendly to service personnel. These were the decades of the inter-war pacifist or 'pacificist' movements; the call of 'No More War' reverberated from the platforms and podia of a new mass democratic

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[11] Brian Bond, 'The Army between the Two World Wars 1918–1939' in *Oxford History of the British Army* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 263. Ian Beckett, *The Amateur Miltiary Tradition,* Chapter 8 'Wars and Economies 1914-1940', pp.225-61.

[12] Patrick Kyba, *Covenants without the Sword: Public Opinion and British Defence Policy* (Waterloo: Laurier, 1983).

[13] David Edgerton, *Warfare State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); John Ferris, 'Treasury Control, the Ten Year Rule, and British Service Policies' in *Historical Journal* 30 (1987), pp.859-83. David French, *Raising Churchill's Army: the British army and the war against Germany, 1939-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[14] Helen McCartney, 'The Military Covenant and the Civil-Military Contract in Britain' in *International Affairs* 86 (2010), p. 413.

society.[15] Within British culture, too, many contemporaries viewed the explosion of 'war books' and films after the Great War as a tonic to a previously militarist, ignorant society. [16] Most historians would suggest that, although transformational, these societal changes and the Great War experience did not necessarily uproot deeply held cultural beliefs.[17] As recently as 2014, however, Jay Winter has argued that the key martial values of 'duty', 'honour' and 'glory' fell from the page, a withdrawal that can be measured and quantified, statistically analysed through new databases of published literature.[18] Certainly, for the first time, British politics and society held a question mark over British military force in an exceptionally public way. This study argues, therefore, that the military found in the local a vital context for sustaining the capacity of British society to mobilise.

In seeking to show this, this thesis has drawn great inspiration from Hugh Gusterson's ethnographic field study of militarisation, which examined the normalisation of the nuclear weapons worker through capitalist working practices and scientific professional strategies located at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory.[19] He also revealed the civil and religious networks of Livermore that grounded individuals within local societies, making it possible (ordinary, in fact) to work on humanity's most destructive weaponry. A series of mundane stepping-stones thus traversed a vast moral quagmire and these place-based professional and civil relationships became a sanctuary for the technician from an intense period of contestation in 1970s American society.

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[15] James Hinton, *Protests and Visions: Peace Politics in Twentieth Century Britain* (London: Hutchinson, 1989); Martin Caedel, *Pacifism in Britain, 1914-1945* (Clarendon Press, 1980).

[16] Samuel Hynes, *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture* (London: Bodley Head, 1990), pp.423-63.

[17] For continuance of heroic ideals see Michael Paris, *Warrior Nation* (London: Reaktion, 2000); Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: men's bodies, Britain and the Great* War (London: Reaktion Books, 1996) Chapter 5.

[18] Jay Winter, 'Beyond Glory: Language and Cultural Memory of the Great War', Plenary Lecture, 83rd Anglo-American Conference 2014: the Great War at Home, 4/7/2014.

[19] Hugh Gusterson, *Nuclear Rites: a Weapons Laboratory at the end of the Cold War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

It is not the intention to equate the British armed forces with the nuclear-industrial complex of the United States, with its massive destructive potential. Such a comparison - and the implication that the ordinary 'Saturday night soldier' was ever beset by a similar existential quandary with regards to humanity's destruction – is one that may have amused army commanders and contemporaries. The importance of the local within an otherwise politically unfriendly climate (a similarly frenzied age of mass protest), however, does resonate with these inter-war case studies. Moreover, Gusterson's work tells us more about that process of legitimacy: how it is sustained by a number of contiguous ideological currents and social contexts within local environments.

A historical investigation cannot penetrate the matter of individual conscience or self-perception in the way an anthropological interview might. For various archival and source related reasons, the discussion must focus on the public and corporate level of operations. As this thesis will argue, much of that sense of feeling was communicated via the locality. It is accepted that the British regular infantry soldier felt grounded through and within other contexts. Long spells overseas, as Hew Strachan has argued, gave regiments, and their men, the cocooned isolation that forged a sense of the regimental community.[20] Yet, for the British volunteer or reservist, a significant proportion of British military strength, the locality was *the* backdrop for a military identity. Moreover, even for Regulars, there was an important ideational significance in what was undertaken within 'home' territory (real or imagined) with regards to the regiment, battalion or unit.

Some key players take centre stage in this analysis: civic elites and the civic press, the subjects of Part Two of this thesis. The historic role of local elites in raising and administering troops during moments of national crisis is well documented.[21] More recently, however, a new strand of historiography within Great War scholarship has opened up pathways to appreciating the full role of

[20] Hew Strachan, *The Politics of the British Army* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p.206.
[21] Beckett, *The Amateur Military Tradition*. Peter Simkins, *Kitcheners Army: the raising of the new armies, 1914-1916* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988).

the urban leader and urban hierarchies. John Horne and Annette Becker have inspired historians to look at wartime mobilisation, not as the preserve of the state, but as an active force within civil societies: individuals, communities and social groups 'self mobilised' because existing power relations and ideologies could accommodate the pressures of mass grief, mass death, and the economic pressures of industrial mobilisation.[22] Thus, historians have conceived of 'war culture', the representations that manufactured consent for war, and which emanated from civil society.[23]

Emerging from this is a new wave of scholarship that credits urban elites with a vital stabilising role in wartime societies. Much of that work was undertaken in the cultural realm, with elites, in Pierre Purseigle's conception, manufacturing the representation that 'translated' the war within local contexts to make it comprehensible to local audiences.[24]Local elites, through negotiating between and balancing social groups, also helped diffuse the tensions of war and demobilisation.[25] These findings, and the increased emphasis on culture, support Theo Farrell's assertion that a 'broad array of agents' have been involved in 'constructing, contesting, re-constructing norms of war', the ideas communities hold that facilitate conflict.[26] Attention is focused, however, on the importance of urban elites and societies particularly: as pioneering scholars are discovering, there is an important 'Metropolitan Dimension' to 'Total War' and this thesis allies itself with those who reckon with it.[27]

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[22] John Horne, *State, Society and Mobilization in Europe During the First World War* (Cambridge University Press, 2002); Annette Becker, *War and Faith: The Religious Imagination in France, 1914-1930* trans. Helen McPhail (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1998)

[23] Annette Becker, 'Faith, Ideologies, and the "Cultures of War" in John Horne (ed.), *A Companion to World War I* (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2010), Chapter 16.

[24] Pierre Purseigle, "Beyond and Below the Nations: Towards a Comparative History of Local Communities at War", in Jenny Macleod and Pierre Purseigle (eds.), *Uncovered Fields: Perspectives in War Studies* (Boston: Brill, 2004), p.101.

[25] Adam Seipp, *The Ordeal of Peace: Demobilisation and the Urban Experience in Britain and Germany, 1917-1921* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

[26] Theo Farrell, *The Norms of War: Cultural Beliefs and Modern Conflict* (Boulder: Lynne Reinner, 2005), p.61.

[27] Stefan Goebel & Derek Keene (eds.), *Cities into Battlefields: Metropolitan Scenarios, Experience, and Commemorations of Total War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

The end of the War signals the end of the story of local elites and mobilisation, at least as far as the academic record is concerned. Their role with regard to peacetime military effort is barely credited. That the Cardwell-Childers reforms, and Haldane's foundation of the Territorial system, aimed to 'localise' communities by the physical act of placing is an oft-relayed part of army history. Historians, judging the process with the measuring stick of recruitment returns and enlistment statistics, report a general malaise in both respects during the inter-war years.[28] Analyses of civil-military relations, how military and local societies interact, occur only in passing and detailed elaboration has been confined to the administrative work of Territorial Associations.[29]

This study follows those, such as Purseigle and Farrell, who credit to urban elites an important cultural role in building consent within society, a predicating factor for the existence of the armed forces in British society. The urban elites discussed in this thesis were confronted, after the War, with armed forces they still had to integrate and 'translate' to the wider community. In turn, their interactions with military groups contributed to that general feeling of acceptance and support that formed an important component of the military's sense of belonging and purpose. 'Legitimacy' within local societies was not a fact granted ad infinitum. Like Forster's conception of state-centred legitimacy, it was reworked and remade within continually changing social, political, military and economic contexts that were always locally specific.

This study works with a definition of the military as social and cultural groups, instead of Forster's definition of 'organisational entities' and in this it has chosen to describe the armed forces as 'military communities'. This definition works at a number of different levels. First, it denotes the idea of the regiment or unit as a social and cultural group, which, as David French has described, was an important functional and constructive element of military life. Whilst French's

[28] Ian Beckett, *Amateur Military Tradition,* pp.247-8; David French, *Military Identities*, p.254-7.
[29] Keith Mitchinson, *England's Last Hope: The Territorial Force, 1908-14* (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 2008).

study concerned how this idea was forged from the top down, in choosing 'communities', this thesis focuses on how it was simultaneously created organically from the bottom up.

The term 'military communities' also evokes how the military's distinctiveness related to social identities. Michael Geyer noted the exceptionalism of Britain in his broader argument concerning European militarisation in the inter-war period. During the war, he argued, Britain had used its class system and identities for the purposes of manpower and industrial production. This emphasis on maintaining the status quo, and its relative success in that respect, meant that 'British society left the war behind' in following decades: unlike its continental counterparts, Britain did 'not form militarised identities' or see its politics dominated by the legacy of 1914-1918.[30]We should, perhaps, temper that viewpoint as we wait for further analyses of the role of war memory in British inter-war politics, the study of which is only just beginning. But Geyer raised a fascinating point, particularly regarding the relationship between social and military identities in Britain.

Historians tend to approach this question through separate military and civilian spheres. Social and cultural historians have examined the militarisation of gender or other social groups – a genre of study particularly associated with the period before 1914.[31] With regards to soldierly identities, historians are far from united. The assumption that social identities and hierarchies simply underpinned military ones in the British voluntary system and that Britain never produced a distinct and separate military caste is still widespread. This viewpoint has been successfully challenged by David French's seminal work on military identities, which shows that military identities were both distinct and highly constructed.

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[30] Michael Geyer, 'The Militarization of Europe, 1914-1945' in John R Gillis (ed.) *The Militarization of the Western World* (London: Rutgers University Press, 1989), pp.86-8..

[31] Anne Summers, 'Militarism in Britain before the Great War', *History Workshop Journal,* 2 (1) (1976), pp. 104-123; Geoffrey Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinity* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

Whilst French's choice to ignore class as a constituent of military-ness probably resulted from his focus on military culture, it perhaps went too far. Historians of Britain's armies in the First and Second World Wars have found that, even at its most militarised, the British army incorporated civilian life and identities by design and through organic development.[32] Quintin Colville's studies of how the Admiralty schematised notions of class within the material culture of peacetime naval environments demonstrated just how important these notions were in underpinning manpower and creating esprit de corps for at least this section of the armed forces.[33]

This thesis, therefore, examines the social reality of military personnel and groups. The question should be asked whether Britain had a simultaneous, two-fold cultural process to enact when it came to its armed forces: one of construction and one of socialisation or civilianisation. It is argued here that the British voluntary system hinged on the role that the locality played in constructing a military identity that was simultaneously 'other' and familiar, for which 'community' is an appropriate descriptive term. Local elites validated regimental culture, and also creatively contributed to it. Moreover, the local provided the arena where the connections between military and social identities could be drawn, where military hierarchies and social ones were equated and where the military found themselves recognised as social actors. This activity, and its ramifications for the population at large, also raises the question of whether British society was any less militarised than its European neighbours during the time and, at one level, this thesis certainly details the forging of the nation as one 'military community'.

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[32] Jeremy Crang, *The British Army and the People's War, 1939-45* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); Helen McCartney, *Citizen Soldiers: The Liverpool Territorials in the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[33] Quintin Colville, 'The Role of Material Culture in Constructing Class-related Identities among male Royal Naval personnel' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Royal College of Art, 2004).

Space & Performance: Argument, Structure and Methodology.

This study is structured by space and time. 'Space' has provided the conceptual framework for the first two parts. Since the 'spatial turn' in historiography, historians have found in 'space' not only a backdrop, but a meaningful constituent in social activity. We now talk of how spaces have been constructed by different groups to perform various functions: identity politics, governmentality.[34] More recently, historians interested in the functioning of wartime societies and mobilisation have looked to urban space to understand these dynamics.[35] In choosing 'space' as an 'analytic tool' this thesis follows these paths, but also employs 'space' as an organisational mechanism, a way of framing the different currents and contexts that underpinned military life so they can be studied.[36]

Part I concerns 'military spaces'. Although this structure has separated city and military space, the thesis does not suggest that these were absolute divisions. Instead, it explores them as spaces constructed and given meaning by both military and civic participants. The first part, therefore, is a tale of the urbanisation (or the suburbinisation) of military space, whereas the second part is the militarisation of city space. The aim is to explore the potential of localisation: what each military site meant in terms of the inter-war city; how some urban spaces were constructed with the military particularly in mind.

Chapter 1, therefore, examines the construction of military spaces within each city. Although the study starts in 1919, to understand much of what happens in the aftermath of war, and appreciate the character of inter-war military sites, we need to appreciate how military sites and spaces were informed by historical

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[34] Simon Gunn, 'The spatial turn: changing histories of space and place' in Gunn and Morris (eds.), *Identities in Space: Contested Terrains in the Western City since 1850* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp.1-13.

[35] Jay Winter and Jean Louis Robert (eds.), *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin 1919-1919,Volume 2: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Stefan Geoebl and Derek Keene (eds.), *Cities into Battlefields: Metropolitan Scenarios, Experiences and Commemorations of War* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

[36] Jay Winter, 'The Practices of Metropolitan Life in Wartime' in Winter and Keene (eds.), *Capital Cities at War, Volume 2*, pp. 1-20.

forces, a discussion that takes the opening of the first chapter back to the foundation of military barracks in the 18th century. The Great War, and how it deepened the role of the locality in mobilisation, also invites what is a necessarily cursory discussion, to support the analysis of subsequent chapters that deal with its impact and memory. The changes of the interwar years, in terms of military structure and cityscape, are followed through in the final section of this Chapter.

Chapter 2 moves on from space to people (the two are closely related) to discuss the relationship between the city and manpower. The first two sections probe the diverse ways in which social, economic, and cultural factors combined to underpin regular and volunteer recruitment and service. Unusually for a study of military force, this last section concerns veterans. Their participation in military life had an enormous ideational significance for military groups and contributed in important ways to their cultural renewal. Building a community that included veterans mattered, and in tracing the channels that connected urban veterans to military units, and how these amassed within the city, this has, albeit unwittingly, complicated the established history of the Veterans Movement in Britain.[37]

In Part II, the discussion moves to 'urban spaces'. In order to understand the civic-military relationship we need to understand the context in which it was constituted. The politics of this is outlined in Chapter 3, which concerns the constituency of councils in Glasgow and Newcastle and how changes in these (particularly the rise of Labour) impacted on how corporations dealt with the military in their midst. This account contributes further analysis of two underappreciated locales to the historical record: Glasgow's interwar political history is overwhelmingly Labour-centric and Newcastle has no such history at all. Moreover, it supports the revisionist historiography of inter-war

[37] Niall Barr, *The Lion and the Poppy: British Veterans, Politics, and Society, 1921-1939* (London: Praeger, 2005).

municipality in arguing against the image of decline and stagnation that, until recently, dominated historical opinion.[38]

Civic-military relations, however, were not confined within council chambers or epitomised by a council ruling or vote. Civic identity, and the integration of the military within it, constituted a feeling of local belonging. The second section of Chapter 3, therefore, addresses the construction of spaces where military and civic met, asking what forces brought the military out into local life. It continues the political analysis to include how political notions of citizenship were extended through city space, and then highlights the 'extra conciliar' partnerships that also shaped these spaces. If this discussion has benefitted from the recent 'inter-war turn' in the historiography of public civic culture, it has also contributed to it.[39] The examination of space through the construction of civic-military relations allows us to see this project from a different perspective and comprehend the different strands that ran through civic life.

If wider political partnerships helped frame the military within local life, then one man was pivotal to the expression of civic-military relations in the inter-war period: the civic leader. The last section of Chapter 3 assesses the changes in social and political constituency in civic leadership during the inter-war years. It also takes a revisionist approach to the history of civic leadership by arguing that the climate of Slump only increased the power and prestige of the civic leader, an office usually depicted as one of the symptoms of municipal decline after 1914.[40] The idiosyncrasies of procedure, combined with the unique context of the inter-war years, meant that the civic leader had a powerful autonomy over the

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[38] [38] Richard Trainor, 'The 'decline' of British Urban governance since 1850: A reassessment' in Morris and Trainor (eds.), *Urban Governance: Britain and Beyond since 1750* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp.28-46.

[39] Charlotte Wildman, 'The "Spectacle" of Interwar Manchester and Liverpool: Urban Fantasies, Consumer Cultures and Gendered Identities' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Manchester, 2007). Tom Hulme, 'Civic culture and Citizenship: the Nature of Urban Governance in Interwar Manchester and Chicago' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leicester, 2013).

[40] John Garrard, 'English Mayors: What are they for?' in Garrard (ed.), *Heads of Local States: Mayor, Provosts and Burgomasters since 1800* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp.11-28.

articulation of civic belonging. The social and political bent of leadership mattered, therefore, when it came to deciding much of civic-military relations, but not in ways one might expect.

Thus far, the discussion has remained within the confines of Town Halls and City Chambers. Chapter 4 examines the forces that shaped another sort of space for military communities, this time imaginary: the public sphere. The history of the provincial press has also been written in terms of decline and, although there have been calls for focused study, it remains underappreciated.[41] In the 'civic public spheres' of Glasgow and Newcastle we have two much needed case studies, which affirm the strength of locality in the context of a fast nationalising newspaper culture.[42] Their role as arbiters in civil and civic society is outlined in the second section, providing the context for the third, which addresses the ways in which these papers created spaces for military communities.

These spaces have been described as 'civic-military public spheres' to recall Habermas's notion of sites of public discourse and interaction: they facilitated public military sociability and discourse within the urban scene.[43] But the term 'civic-military public spheres' also evokes a multi-directional affiliation of these newspapers to military units and military identity, one emanating from the cultural and economic forces shaping the production of news during this time. The significance of the interventions of the civic press is outlined in the last section of this Chapter 4, which draws on evidence from military publications and regimental archives to assess how important these spaces were for military self-perception.

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[41] Anne-Marie McAllister and Andrew Hobbs, 'Introduction', *International Journal of Regional and Local History* 5 (2009), p.10.

[42] Michael Bromley and Nick Hayes, 'Campaigner, watchdog or municipal lackey? Reflections on the inter-war provincial press, local identity and civic welfarism' in *Media History* 8 (2002), pp.197–212.

[43] Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Cambridge: Policy, 1999) translated by Thomas Burger, pp.21-67.

Closely related to 'space' is another concept employed in Part III to deepen the analysis of civic-military relations: 'Performance'. Representations are powerful tools. They can incite change by 'establishing habits of thought crucial to rationalising particular actions'.[44] But representations are also primary tools in the 'technologies of power' that infuse and order society.[45] Much of that work is done 'performatively', through gestures and speech acts, and the military, particularly, articulated its notions of belonging within a dramaturgy of civic-military relations.[46] Chapter 5 concerns the ritual enactment of military parades in Glasgow and Newcastle, within streets and around war memorials, held year in, year out. Parades may have incited all sorts of emotions within participants, including embarrassment and discomfort. Their performance, however, provided a focal point for the representation of civic-military relations and their ritual regularity allows us to consider whether the civic-military relationship, institutionally fragile, was conceptually so, as we can assess subtle shifts in form or content over time.

This analysis also highlights the congruent work of the civic elite and civic press in the formation of the civic-military relationship. In many ways the inter-war years were uniquely productive in terms of urban military parades. This is partly because the civic elite and press, as well as working for the military, benefitted from the association. The impulses that fed these rituals and kept the civic-military relationship alive were infused with the wider political and ideational concerns of these civic players. As well as informing us of the health, or otherwise, of civic-military relations, therefore, this section allows us to understand the project of civic identity, elaborated within the previous part of

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[44] Nicoletta Gullace, *The Blood of our Sons: Men, Women, and the Renegotiation of Britisih Citizenship during the Great War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), p.10.

[45] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995) translated by Alan Sheridan.

[46] Mary Ryan, 'The American Parade: Representations of the Nineteenth Century Social Order' in Lynn Hunt (ed.), *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), pp.131-53.

this thesis, at a greater depth, identifying an arena of 'civic-militarism' that had important political, and cultural, functions during this time.

Performance intersects with remembrance in the second section of Chapter 5, as the investigation proceeds down a well-trodden path in the historiography of Great War commemoration in its examination of the Armistice Day observance.[47] This discussion asks new questions of the ritual in its investigation of how civic-military relations both structured the ceremonials and became central to it. It finds a continuing local significance in the ritual throughout the period, diverging from Gregory's assertion of an overwhelmingly national character by the Thirties. Furthermore, in considering the observance as a visual event, rather than a linguistic one, far greater emphasis has been placed on the ritual as a conveyance of civic power and identity than has hitherto been admitted.

Performance of civic-military relations, however, was not simply exemplified by parading and the military looked to other sites to articulate notions of belonging. In an age of mass leisure, it is not surprising that the military articulated their integration within local, modern societies through organised entertainment and sociability.[48] Like other groups, the military controlled notions of community and belonging through such performances.[49] Chapter 6 uncovers the history of the construction of recreational spaces within each city, and observes these performances within them. Practices of urban leisure, within a rich club life and social calendar, provided the real bonds of communality that forged military societies, a way to realise and perform notions of the 'comradeship' that provided the ideological oil in the machinery of military societies.

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[47] Adrian Gregory, *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919–1946* (Oxford: Berg, 1994); Connelly, *The Great War, Memory and Ritual: Commemoration in the City and East London, 1916–1939,* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002), p.200.

[48] Martin Pugh, *We Danced All Night: A Social History of Britain Between the Wars* (London: Vintage, 2009), pp.216-38.

[49] Brad Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men, 1850-1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005).

There is an important public element to this activity that is easy to miss. Hotels and restaurants were spaces with political and class meanings attached to them. By gathering for reunions within these sites of hospitality the military community was doing more than engaging with itself; it was claiming public – and civic - recognition, which it largely received. In these performances of military sociability we can see the political overtones of these projects. 'Comradeship' was more than a value-neutral evocation of the emotional bonds of service, as some historians have suggested:[50] it was a distinctly military, conservative reaction to the democratising forces that infused British society in the post 1918 Reform Act world. These performances reiterated hierarchy and order through the temporary relaxation of class barriers, asserting essentially conservative values of society.

The performances discussed thus far have all been examined with regard to their legitimising activity. An important component of that cultural work was the public recognition of 'military memory', defined as the lived memory and recorded tradition of military enterprise, which is treated separately in Chapter 7. This progresses the analysis of the performances elaborated in Chapters 5 and 6 by considering the ways in which 'military memory' was evoked within them, around them, and through them. These actions were 'sites of memory' (Nora) or 'Monuments' (Connerton) in that they deliberately evoked the past and became remembering spaces.[51] This discussion, therefore, considers what they tell us about the public remembrance of the Great War in the inter-war years.

In the most recent scholarly work on Britain and the Great War, Adrian Gregory asserted that it has become 'increasingly clear that in order to understand how war was remembered it is imperative to get as close to the ground as possible, to look at memory in the locality and examine how the

[50] Helen McCarthy, 'Service clubs, citizenship and equality: gender relations and middle class associations in Britain between the wars', *Historical Research*, 81 (2008), p.537.
[51] Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire', *Representations* 26 (1989), pp.7-24. Paul Connerton, *How Modernity forgets* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2009), pp.7-17.

"myriad faces of war" were mirrored in every day life'.[52] In its examination of locally peculiar public rituals of remembrance, this thesis certainly contributes to this enterprise: in these examples, parades become powerful mnemonics for remembrance. This borders on the question of how the 'locus' of urban space (its routinized social dynamics) produced memory, a question that obviously fascinates Gregory.[53] Although these rituals were unique in their local contexts, they shared characteristics and, together, they show just how pervasive a certain way of remembering the Great War was in inter-war British local society. Here, this thesis explores, in greater depth, similar manifestations noted by historians elsewhere.[54]

In charting the public manifestations of 'military memory' Chapter 7 recalls Geoffrey Moorhouse's empathetic account of the memory of Gallipoli in the Lancashire town of Bury.[55] The questions it asks of rituals are somewhat different. It views these memories as Halbwachsian 'collective memory'.[56] They emanated from the persistence of coalitions and collaborations, between the civic elite, the civic press, and the military, but, as will be shown, veterans also, as free agents, played a huge part in these enterprises. These public memories could stifle individual memories, as Moorhouse and other writers on war commemoration have observed, but they were obviously also places where some individuals found a context to give meaning to their experiences.[57] What is more, unlike Moorhouse's study, it demonstrates how the Great War's memory,

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[52] Adrian Gregory, *The Last Great War: British society and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p.273

[53]Adrian Gregory, 'Railway Stations: Gateways and Termini' in Winter and Robert (eds.) *Capital Cities at War Volume 2*, pp.28-56.

[54] Helen McCartney noticed the parading of the Liverpool Scottish for 'Hooge Day', *Citizen Soldiers,* pp.252-3. Mark Connelly refers to the 1st City of London Regiment's marking of the Battles of Festubert and Loos in *Great War, Memory and Ritual,* p.103, p.253.

[55] Geoffrey Moorhouse, *Hell's Foundations: a town, its myths, and Gallipoli* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1992).

[56] Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1992), p.51.

[57] TG Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper, 'The politics of war memory and commemoration: contexts, structures and dynamics', in Ashplant, Dawson and Roper (eds.), *The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp.3-86. Alistair Thomson, *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

through urban space, interrelated with more archaic narratives of martial tradition, providing another cultural arena that promoted a much-needed sense of continuity in the wake of war.

Part IV, and Chapter 8, unites the threads of the thesis in a study of the period of remobilisation, from 1935, with the issue of the government circular charging local authorities with the provision of civil defence, to September 1939 and the outbreak of war. Historians are increasingly appreciating the importance of this period in terms of 'preparing the public for the next war' and outlining the behaviour required of new forms of warfare that targeted civilians specifically.[58] Whilst detailed studies of defence administration on a local level have rescued local authorities from the accusation of provincial apathy and lethargy with regard to defence preparation, we are still missing a link in the evolution and the creation of the proto wartime citizen.[59] If British inter-war imaginary of war to come was obsessed with the utter destructive capability of aerial bombardment, it was also fixated on one place: the city.[60] It would be cities that provided the vanguard of defence, and urban hierarchies of local government that built defence systems and consensus that eased Britain into war in 1939.

In this, the historiography of the Second World War lags behind that of the First in its appreciation of the importance of urban societies to the stability of the wartime populations. This thesis cannot fill that gap, but Chapter 8 demonstrates the importance of the subject. Uniting concepts of 'space' and 'performance' in a rendering of 'remobilisation' allows us to investigate how these societies performed their mobilising tasks and established proto-wartime cities. Civic 'war culture' (the representations that facilitated consent for war) was, like all war culture, an expansion of existing cultural practices, many of which have been

[58] Susan Grayzel, *At Home and Under Fire: air raids and culture in Britain from the Great War to the Blitz* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p.18.
[59] Robin Woolven, 'Civil defence in London 1935-1945: the formation and implementation for the performance of ARP services in London' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 2002).
[60] Richard Overy, *The Bombing War: Europe 1939-1945* (London: Allen Lane, 2013), p.26.

elaborated in this thesis, including rituals of commemoration.[61] Here, we can draw a connecting line between these two momentous mobilising events. Part of the reason that British society remobilised relatively easily in 1939 was because so much of what was needed to support this process had been a familiar part of inter-war, urban society.

Shaping the Thesis: Space, Archives & Evidence

Certain factors of space and evidence have shaped the thesis. First, there are local spaces and ideological currents that this thesis cannot consider: of these, religious space is the most important. Ideally, a thesis addressing the cultural renewal of the British military in Glasgow would accord significant space to Catholic identities and, particularly, Scottish Presbyterianism.[62] Rev. Dr Lachlan Maclean Watt, Minister of Glasgow cathedral and Moderator of the first Glasgow Presbytery of the reunited church, probably deserves his own chapter for his interventions in Glasgow's military life. Whilst it is important to remember that some of this civic and social performance adopted a Christian form, to consider religion explicitly and separately - even in its civic guise – would have required an additional set of arguments for which there is not room in this thesis.

Evidence and archival work has also shaped the direction of this thesis in some fundamental ways. More archival work was necessary to resurrect civic-military relations than might have been warranted in other contexts. The impoverishment of scholarship on these 20th century cities, and the fact that inter-war civic culture and the provincial press are new fields of enquiry, has meant that this history had to be written. Moreover, in investigating interactions between military and civic groups, the research strategy focused on drawing together sources from several different kinds of archival institutions, both national and local. In doing so, the intention was to place several source strands,

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[61] Heather Jones, "Encountering the 'Enemy': Prisoner of War Transport and the Development of War Cultures in 1914" in Pierre Purseigle ed., *Warfare and Belligerence: Perspectives in First World War Studies* (Boston; Leiden, Brill Academic Publishers, 2005), pp. 133-162

[62] Graham Walker and Tom Gallagher (eds.), *Sermons and Battle Hymns: Protestant Popular Culture in Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990).

which are not usually related, into dialogue in order to locate the meeting points of the civic and the military. Availability of material has clearly weighted discussion towards one or other of the cities at certain points.

In this, the research came up against questions of public history and memory. It is obvious that the inter-war period has suffered through archival directives shaped by greater scholarly focus elsewhere. When querying the lack of existence of letter books and other civic archives, I was told by more than one archivist that I was lucky there were *any* left at all, they were so underused. In the case of military archives, this is even more pronounced. With so much of the IWM's material un-catalogued, it is possible that some fascinating collections may rise to the surface in future years. It is equally likely that the material searched for is buried in other collections, which would be impracticable to search considering the numbers involved. But it is difficult to predict a sea change that would spur relatives to archive peacetime, domestic service.

Another fascinating point regarding cultural memory concerns extant regimental collections. This thesis has set out to mark out all channels that connected city and military, but it has proved impossible to trace all their activities to an equal depth. Infantry regiments, in these cases, were larger and had more collective cultural momentum than yeomanry or RNVR divisions. This showed in their contemporary public culture but also had repercussions for their archival trace. With history still important within the regimental structure, museums and archives, which foster localised affinities, preserve their records. Although this study has identified some of the ways that regimental culture works at a local level in support units, it has not been able to explore this issue at much depth through lack of evidence. It certainly raises questions about how culture operates within different regimental structures.

The imbalance within source material does not undermine the integrity of the argument. This thesis never envisaged a fully comparative history, which draws meaning from points of difference or similarity, although some have been

noted.[63] Instead, it envisaged cataloguing the cultural and social currents that supported the military machine. Some observations have been made where one context has generated a particularly rich cultural practice and another has not. Moreover, as the focus was on public culture - the points of interrelation of military and civic – the vast majority of that activity has been identified from the civic perspective.

[63] Deborah Cohen, 'Comparative History: Buyer Beware' in *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 29 (2001), pp.23-33.

Part I

Military Spaces

Chapter 1

Barracks, Drill Halls and Training Ships

Regular and Volunteer Urban–Military Sites, *c*.1800–1914

Fear – from Without and Within – laid the foundation stones for the military sites of Newcastle and Glasgow. With local and national elites feeling the dual threat of invasion and revolutionary unrest from the Continent, both cities rode the first and smallest wave of barracks development in the early part of the 19th century.[1] Glasgow's first barracks was constructed in 1795 just off Duke Street, amidst the fast-developing industrial workshops of the city's eastern outer limits. This area, in 1787, had witnessed rioting and violence during the strike of the Calton weavers, episodic patches of disorder that had stretched over a number of weeks. The military base, it was hoped, would act both as deterrence and as a guarantee of an effective and efficient solution to any future problems: built to house between 700–800 men, it presented a formidable symbol of military force.[2]

In Newcastle, nearly a decade later, the Incorporated Companies of Newcastle, who controlled a considerable expanse of common land to the north

[1] Spiers, *The Army and Society, 1815–1914*, p.55.

[2] The construction of the barracks came at a period of particular social tension, with disorder, caused by artisan radical politics and intermittent grain shortages, worrying Glasgow's magistrates. Christopher A Whatley, 'Labour in the industrialising city, c.1660–1830', in T M Devine and Gordon Jackson (eds.), *Glasgow Volume I* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp.360–401.

of the city known as the 'Town Moor', struck the first bargain with the government to generate a permanent military presence in the city. These were as concerned with rioting workers as with Glasgow's elites. The Lord Mayor had approached the government unsuccessfully in 1793 for the purposes of barracks building: no municipal provision yet existed to quell strikes of seamen and keelman, or food riots, that had been recently plaguing the city.[3] The land they provided, some 11 acres, sat in the pocket of the Moor's north-western corner, adjacent to the windmills and grazing cattle of the small agricultural village of Spital Tongues.[4] On its north-western tip, the site also touched the boundaries of the township of Fenham. The surrounding area was owned by the Riddell family, or charitable hospitals, for much of the 19th century. Sat amidst a rural idyll two miles away from the city, the barracks was close enough to promise speedy intervention in any social problems, but far enough away to hide the soldierly presence from the city.

Fear, however, was not the only emotional bedrock of military infrastructure. Its development relied on a growing self-confidence of local political entities, which were increasingly dominated by middle-class interests. Not only did these groups believe absolutely in their status, as owners of property; trade and commerce depended on social order, into which elites made a considerable investment of time and money in the development of municipal government.[5] They also reckoned their contribution to the nation's economy important enough to oblige the state to protect it by allocating national resources, as long as these were expended according to local needs and desires.[6] As both

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[3] Tim Hewitson, *A Soldier's Life: the story of Newcastle Barracks* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Tyne Bridge, 1999), p.10.

[4] Ibid., p.14.

[5] Irene Maver, 'The guardianship of community: civic authority before 1833' in *Glasgow Volume I*, pp. 239–77. Joyce Ellis, 'The 'Black Indies': Economic Development of Newcastle, *c*.1700–1840' in Robert Colls and Bill Lancaster (eds.) *Newcastle upon Tyne: A Modern History* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2001), pp.1–26.

[6] Margaret R Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680*–1780 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996). Maver, *Glasgow* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), chapters 2 and 3.

cities boomed, through coal and commerce in Newcastle, and textiles and tobacco trading in Glasgow, there was a significant investment to protect and a greater sense of entitlement regarding each city's contribution to national life.[7]

In Glasgow, in particular, these representatives of city interests fought throughout the 19th century to bring a military presence worthy of their corporate wealth. These deemed Gallowgate's facilities inadequate: its sanitary infrastructure limited numbers to no more than two or three companies at a time.[8] Civic fathers, not the state, sensed the inadequacy most keenly. Successive Lord Provosts campaigned for better barracks from *c*.1845.[9] These efforts achieved little before 1866. The state's bureaucratic inertia combined with financial wariness (it had a massive national barracks system to modernise).[10] But local elements also proved obstructive when the state attempted to put plans in motion. Glasgow's elite, both social and governmental, wanted an enlarged military presence: its industrial capability was growing at an exponential rate in the mid 19th century, and so was its population. Workers were flooding into the city from the Highlands and from post-famine Ireland, bringing with them the promise of cheap labour and the threat to social order. Yet, two attempts by the government to purchase alternative sites on the fringes of the wealthier western suburbs generated consternation, causing hot debates over the 'Barrack

[7] T M Devine, 'The golden age of tobacco' in *Glasgow Volume I,* pp.139–83. R H Campbell, 'The making of the industrial city', in *Glasgow Volume I* ed. by TM Devine and Gordon Jackson, pp.184–214. For a specific manifestation of this feeling, and the linkage between demands for greater parliamentary representation for Scotland and barracks provision, see Letter to the Editor, 'Scottish Representation – Glasgow Barracks', in *Glasgow Herald* (hereafter *GH*), 16/3/1867, p.6.

[8] GCA MP17.437 Report by Major General Hamilton, Commander of the Forces in Scotland..upon the proposed site for the Barracks at Maryhill (1867).

[9] GCA. D-TC 14/1/117. Petition of the Sheriffs and the Justices of the Peace of the County of Lanarkshire to the Secretary of State for War (1866) The Memorial of the Lord Provost and the City of Glasgow to the Right Hon Lord Herbert of Lea, Secretary of State for War (1867). For a history of civic action see *GH*, 17/12/1868, p.2.

[10] Spiers, *Army & Society*, p.57. There were at least 250 barracks in 1860 housing nearly 100,000 men.

Question' in the local press. Glasgow's elite wanted military force, just not on its doorstep.[11]

In 1866, James Lumsden (stationery magnate and Lord Provost), and a coalition of Justices of the Peace and Sheriffs, succeeded in brokering a compromise, in identifying a suitable site and persuading the government to stump up the cost of development.[12] This corporation-gifted land, some 30 acres, lay two miles north-west of the city centre, on the remnants of an old estate (the Garriock Estate) that was on the city's outer limits, bordering the independent police burgh of Maryhill. This conurbation had developed on the bank of the river Kelvin, and, even at the end of the 19th century, this drew a watery border on its western side. Once surrounded by great estates and their houses, the burgh had seen increased economic activity after the building of the Forth & Clyde canal. By the time of the barrack's construction, it was home to an array of industrial interests (paper, brewing, glass and textiles), with workers' houses and tenements crammed in between the river and the developing high street, a growing parade of banks and small shops.[13]

The 'Barrack Question' was intimately involved in corporation-burgh relations. Maryhill could not control the purchase of the land, but they might have proved obstructive in its realisation as a considerable military site. On the one hand, the barracks became important in the corporation's attempts to over-run their neighbours in 1866 and in 1869. Both times, the corporation played the barracks card with confidence – the burgh could not afford the extra police that the additional (soldierly) population demanded.[14] On the other hand, the barracks also contributed to Maryhill's fast-developing sense of civic autonomy

[11] For reference to newspaper debates see *GH,* Letter to the Editor (A Reader): 'The Barrack Question', 6/2/1860, p.6. GCA. MP17.547. Copy correspondence with reference to the cavalry and infantry barracks in Glasgow.
[12] *GH*, 17/3/1866, p.4.
[13] Guthrie Hutton, *Old Maryhill* (Ochiltree: Richard Stenlake, 1994).
[14] GCA. H Mar 2.2. Maryhill Burgh Records. Minutes of the Burgh Commissioners and Committees, p.44. Speech of the Senior Magistrate as to the opposition of the extension at the public meeting of the Burgh of Maryhill regarding the extension bills.

because it spurred its nascent economy. Immediately after the announcement of major work beginning at the barracks, the price of feuing land, a practice dormant for a number of years, increased by £10 per acre.[15] The addition of hundreds of potential consumers, hostages to local retail and ready to pour their wages into local pockets, was no doubt also a welcome prospect for shopkeepers and publicans. Soon 'Maryhill Barracks' was joined by an array of other civic assets, including a burgh hall and library.[16]

The structure that emerged from the five-year construction was a series of significant military buildings straddling the ridge of high ground over the Kelvin [Figure 1]. Buttressed on its northern side by Kelvindale road, a largely residential street, and the busy Main Street on the east, its western side dropped down sharply to the river and the Kelvindale Paper Mills. Here the War Office had purchased an additional six acres, to ensure the sanitary survival of the complex. The buildings, surrounded by a 10-ft wall, were laid out in a quadrangle, with a parade ground in the centre. Faced with freestone from local quarries, they took on a familiar, if austere, appearance. Substantial officers' quarters and the mess were on the north side; the eastern side contained the lodgings for married soldiers and their families, with the infant school and playground to the back of another set of buildings, housing the school room, gymnasium, and chapel. Here, too, were the staff-sergeants' quarters and sergeants' mess, canteen and recreation rooms. To the south of the parade ground, a succession of large three-story blocks represented the workshops and regimental stores, with four of these supplying the living quarters for the rankers, a dormitory per platoon. The bathing facilities, which had been eulogized in the press, included showers in semi-outdoor conditions, with both the pipes and soldiers feeling the cold of a Glasgow winter.[17]

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[15] *GH,* 11/10/1869; *GH* 1/12/1869.

[16] Alexander Thomson, *Random Notes and Rambling Recollections of Maryhill* (Glasgow: Kerr & Richardson, 1895), p.186–8; pp.208–9.

[17] Description from John Tweed, *The History of Glasgow from the Earliest to the Present Time by Writers of Eminence* (Glasgow, 1872), pp.1146–8. *GH*, 4/11/1869, p.4. Hutton, *Old Maryhill*, p.16.

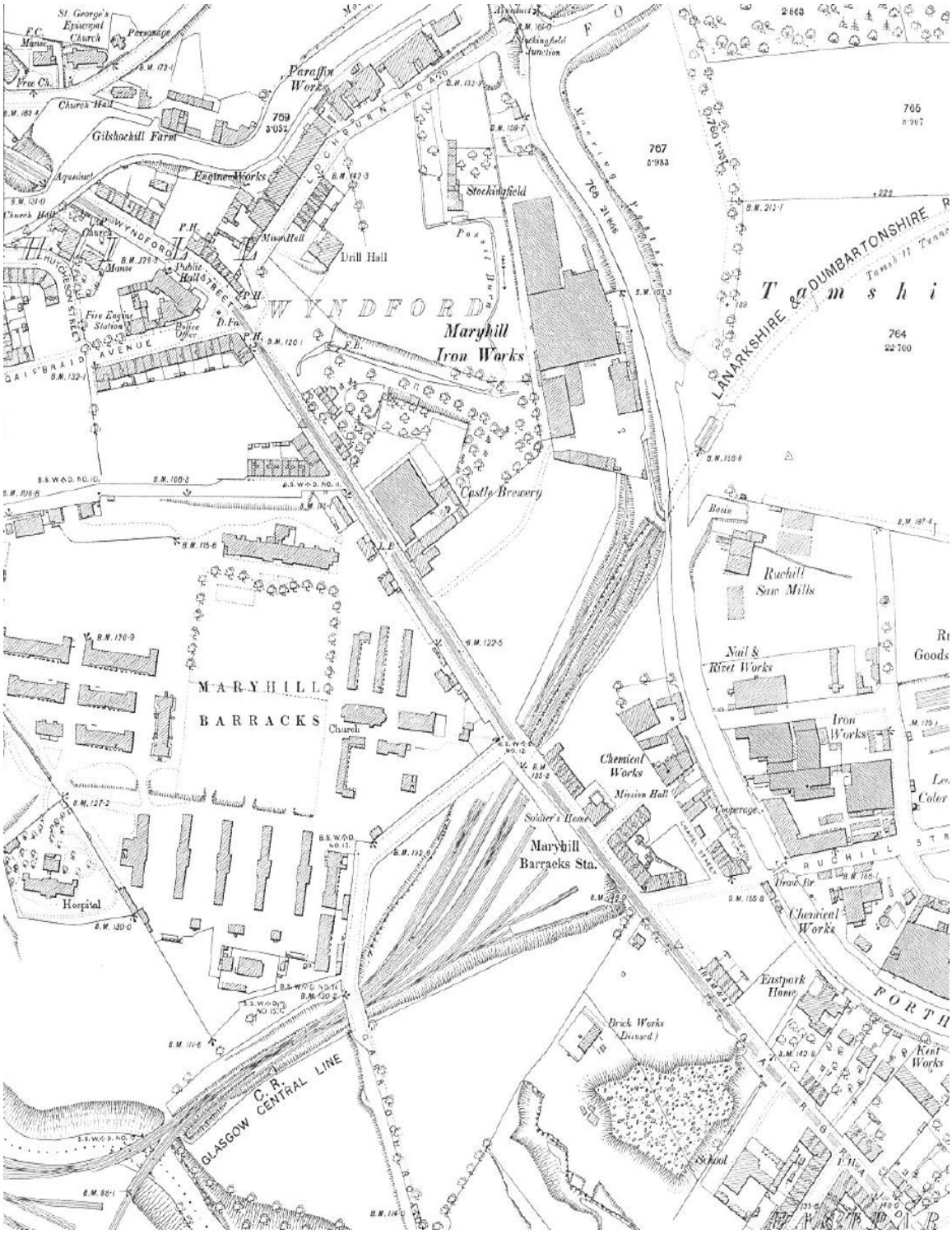

Figure 1 Map of Maryhill showing the Barracks (1894).

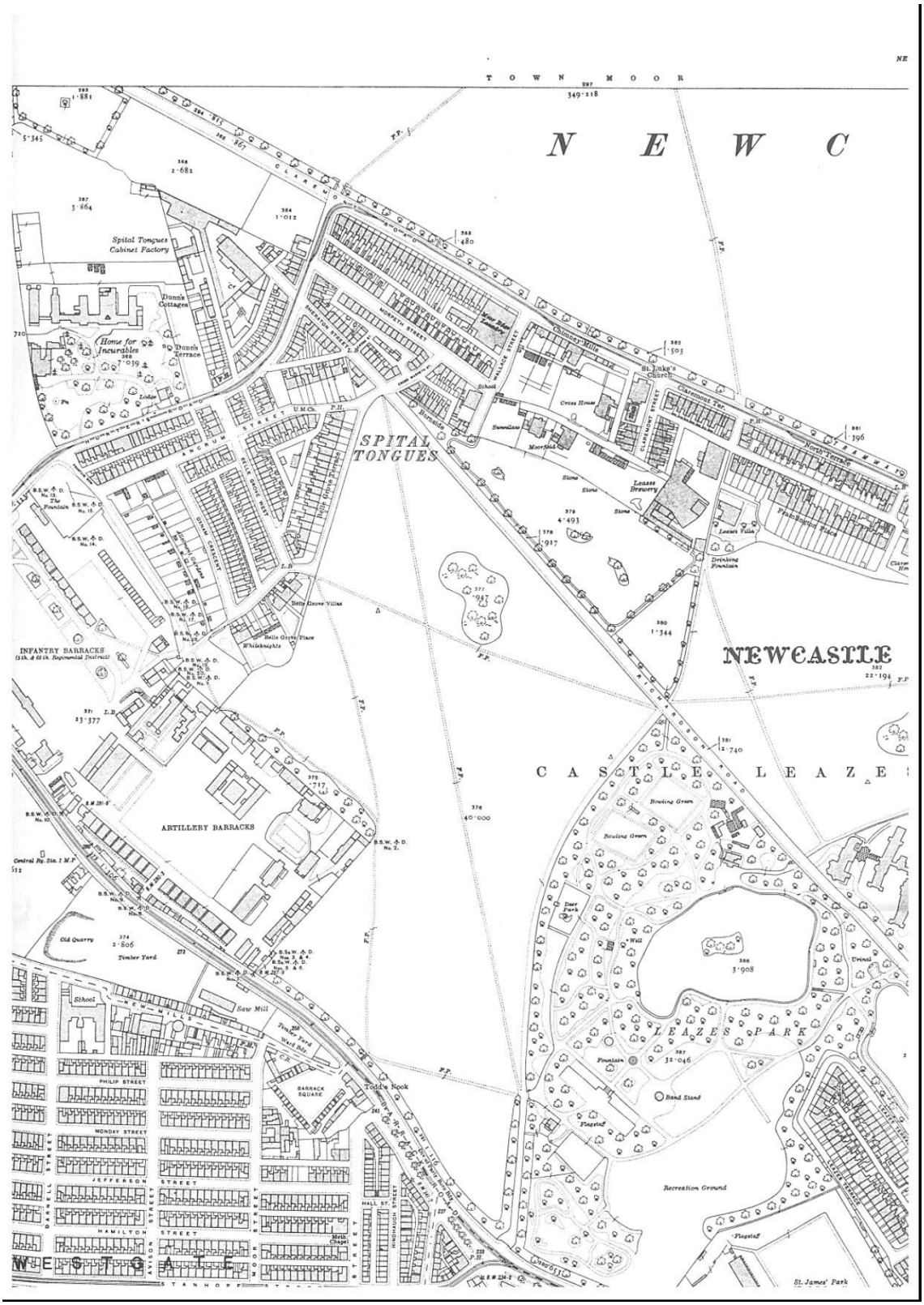

Figure 2 Map of Newcastle including the Barracks (1914)

Unlike Glasgow's barracks, Newcastle's barracks [Figure 2] was not transplanted but it was transformed as the 19th century went on. When first built, the barracks had bordered large green spaces on its southern and eastern sides; its neighbours above it, to the north and west, had been agricultural land in the hands of large estate holders. By mid-century, the division between urban Newcastle and the area around the barracks was starting to dissolve. The sinking of Spital Tongues Colliery in 1836 kick-started the construction of working-class housing that developed further with the opening of Robson's Furniture Factory in the 1880s. In the same decade, the formal gardens of Leazes Park were carved out of the Moor to the south, and residential streets pushed the common land further to the east. The ward of Westgate and Arthur's Hill, the immediate neighbours of the barracks on the south and south-west (the other side of Barrack Road), became crowded with grid-line, workers' tenement housing, to support local collieries. Suburbanisation came too. Fenham Estates Company, created in 1898, had purchased a swathe of land from the Fenham Hall and Benwell estates and was developing it for private housing.[18] In 1904, the general spread of the city's population northwards was recognised by the incorporation of both Spital and Fenham into the city of Newcastle. Tramlines extended up Barrack Road to serve these new commuter satellites.

Social and economic forces had replanted the barracks firmly within the city's outer reaches. From the 20th century, it would be increasingly located and identified with its most north-western, genteel neighbour, and popularly known as 'Fenham Barracks'. Unlike Maryhill, the barracks was not entirely reconstructed during this period, but buildings in the complex were modified. During the 1880s, some older buildings were demolished and the barracks were enlarged. A new three-story block, housing all dormitories and dining hall, occupied the entire western aspect. The sergeants' mess, and miscellaneous

[18] David Butler, 'Arthurs Hill & Fenham 1913' printed in *Old Ordnance Survey Maps: Arthurs Hill & Fenham* (Gateshead: Alan Godfrey edition, 1984).

regimental store and provision houses, were housed in a series of buildings on the northern side. Married quarters and family housing, with the school and chapel, ran along the eastern side, reflecting a growing accommodation of married and family life within the British army.[19] The barracks were separated from the outer world by walls, which stood at 9ft around the perimeter.

Maryhill and Fenham Barracks each occupied their own niches within the wider military command structure, which remained relatively stable from the latter half of the 19th century until the First World War. Their patterns of activity were governed by the Cardwell-Childers reforms of the 1870s and 1880s. This reorganisation of the British army created a regimental system, which attempted to solve the financial and administrative problems of governing a far-flung Empire with the small professional army that British constitutional feeling would allow. Linked battalions, organised by regiments, would rotate through home and Imperial bases to create the most flexible of military structures. At the same time, regiments were linked to the locality through nominal titles and administrative positioning, to harness the considerable local pride within Victorian society in the service of the military.[20] To administer this, the UK was divided into command areas, responsible for a collection of regimental districts. Scottish Command, which oversaw all of the Scottish districts, was based at Edinburgh; the headquarters of No. 2 district (which Glasgow, as part of Lanarkshire, fell into) were located at Hamilton, 10 miles to the south of Glasgow. Northern Command, with headquarters at York, administered the northernmost areas of Northumberland, through the east Midlands (Rutland, Staffordshire), down to Lincolnshire.

These measures had very different implications for Maryhill and Fenham Barracks. The Childers reforms of the 1880s had linked Northumberland, and Newcastle, with the 5th Regiment of Foot, newly titled the 'Northumberland

[19] Hewitson, *A Soldier's Life*, p.29.
[20] French, *Military Identities: The Regimental System, the British Army & the British People, c.1870–2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp.13–25.

Fusiliers'. Fenham Barracks, although rarely seeing its child battalions (if at all), would from thenceforth house the administrative depot of the regiment. It was not King in residence. Joining it was the administrative depot of the 'Durham Light Infantry' (hereafter DLI) – it had been impossible to find a home for this in its home county. That the DLI depot was placed in Newcastle, not its notional home, was an annoyance that would play on the regiment's mind for over 50 years, until it finally relocated to Brancepeth Castle in 1939. It would have to be borne. Added to this, Fenham had a place for one regular brigade of Royal Field Artillery, consisting of three batteries.

Unlike Newcastle's barracks, and most other urban garrisons, Maryhill's anchored no infantry affiliation. In April 1898, the West of Scotland Artillery moved from Campbeltown to Maryhill, forming one of six training depots for the Artillery in the U.K.[21] Its relatively commodious accommodation and Glasgow's accessibility by sea and rail, however, made the base an ideal stopping point in the Cardwell-Childers game of continual relocation. A succession of guests, battalions whose sojourns at Glasgow would last a year or two at the most, enlivened Maryhill's routine. The men of such regular battalions, whose stay was usually both unpredictable and short, would have remembered Glasgow as one of many such military bases – all with their merits and disadvantages. Those of the 79th Regiment, who left Glasgow in 1879 to replace the Black Watch in Gibraltar, for instance, may well have been relieved they were heading for sunnier climes, even if they were destined for the centre of a Typhus epidemic.[22]

Professional spaces were not the only urban military spaces. The social forces that bolstered the creation of barracks provided a massive impetus for the Volunteer. Originating with the invasion scares of the mid 19th century, but also building on established Militia traditions, the Volunteer movement (the part-time amateur performance of military duties) had profoundly local origins.

[21] *GH*, 4/1/1898, p.3.
[22] *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, 4/6/1879, p.5.

Volunteer infantry corps (known as 'riflemen'), artillery or engineer units emerged from specific social, cultural and work-based hierarchies. Particularly in its earliest incarnation, whilst they received official sanction and control from the War Office, they depended on local elites for their administration, equipment and command. These shouldered the cost of administration and equipment through appeals to Victorian notions of self-help and civic pride; their choices shaped by their belief in the benefits of military service and the inculcation of military values for their work force.[23] A plethora of drill halls, expressive of the deep connections between neighbourhoods and military units, appeared throughout each city – testifying to the roots of the movement within particular, mostly industrial, neighbourhoods.[24] Developed as part of the Childers reforms, these were reorganised and linked to local regiments, as 'Volunteer Battalions' in the 1880s. In 1907–8, Richard Haldane overhauled the system in the creation of the 'Territorial Force', deepening the local ties by creating a local associational administrative structure.[25]

Infantry units made up the majority of the volunteer units supported by Glasgow and Newcastle.[26] Glasgow's heady mix of industrial and commercial society and hierarchies had proved a particularly fertile ground for the movement from its origins in 1859, when its different elements had combined to raise nearly 100 separate corps of rifle companies.[27] These would be regrouped into seven corps soon afterwards, units that filtered through the Volunteer

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[23] Hugh Cunningham, *The Volunteer Force: a social and political history, 1859–1908* (London: Croom Helm, 1975); Ray Westlake, *The Rifle Volunteers: the history of the rifle volunteers 1859–1908* (Chippenham: Picton, 1982). Ian Beckett, *The Amateur Military Tradition 1558–1945*, pp. 163–95.

[24] See Chapter 2: The Development of Drill Halls 1861–1908' and Chapter 3: 'The Development of Drill Halls, 1908–2005' in Osborne, *Always Ready: The Drill Halls of Britain's Volunteer Forces* (Leigh-on-Sea: Partizan Press, 2006).

[25] Keith Mitchinson, *England's Last Hope: the Territorial Force, 1908–1914* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp.7–52.

[26] Locations, origins and establishment of Glasgow's and Newcastle's volunteer forces have been gleaned from Ray Westlake, *Directory of Rifle Volunteers* (London: Military History Society, 2007), pp.29–34 (Glasgow) and p.44 and pp.45–6 (Newcastle/Northumberland); Ray Westlake, *Tracing the Rifle Volunteers* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword Family History, 2010), p.125–39 (Glasgow) and p.186 (Newcastle) and pp. 191–3 (Northumberland).

[27] See list of Glasgow units in Westlake, *Directory*, pp.29–34.

system and eventually formed eight battalions of the Territorial Force in 1908: three linked to the Scottish Rifles (Cameronians),[28] another five linked to the Highland Light Infantry (HLI). By 1914, the Volunteer already had established civic recognition for his military prowess, with all of the infantry units providing companies to fight in the Second South African War, and their soldiers rewarded with the Freedom of the City on their return.

The location and size of drill-hall establishments reflected their historic social and geographical roots. The most prestigious unit, the 5th Scottish Rifles, formerly the 1st Lanarkshire Rifles, had been the unit of choice for the bankers, stockbrokers and accountants of the city. By 1914, it could boast among its former members the Liberal prime minister, Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Unionist party one political leader, Andrew Bonar Law, and even intellectual luminaries such as Lord Kelvin and Macquorn Rankine.[29] Attracting the scions of the upper middle-class families, it had little trouble raising the staggering sum of £16,000 to construct a drill hall in West Princes Street, a tree-lined avenue in the prestigious west end area of Kelvindale, an area which suited many of its men. [30]

Occupying the second tier, in terms of social prestige, but beating the 5th in terms of local identification, came the 9th HLI. Known popularly as the 'Glasgow Highlanders', the early volunteer unit had fed off the civic and cultural associations generated by the influx of Highlanders into the city. [31] Their establishment was based on Greendyke Street, a long road of houses built for 18th-century merchants, which traced the northern rim of Glasgow Green's eastern corner. This civic park, by the mid 19th century, was a focal point of the

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[28] The regiment changed its name from Scottish Rifles (Cameronians) to Cameronians (Scottish Rifles) in 1920. Although this would be an interesting point of regimental identity to unravel, from the perspective of the involvement of civic or religious elites, there is no room to do so in this thesis. To avoid confusion, the regiment will be referred to as 'Cameronians' throughout.

[29] David Martin (ed), *The Fifth Battalion, the Cameronians, Scottish Rifles, 1914–1918* (Glasgow: Jackson, Son & Co, 1936).

[30] Osborne, *Always Ready*, p.278. For the location and brief history of Glasgow's other drill halls elaborated in this thesis, pp.278-9. C M Atherton, 'The development of the middle class suburb: the West End of Glasgow' in *Scottish Economic & Social History* 11 (1991), pp.19–35.

[31] Westlake, *Tracing the Rifle Volunteers 1859–1908* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2010), p.130. Alec Weir, *Come on Highlanders! Glasgow Territorials in the Great War* (Stroud: Sutton, 2005).

civic endeavour to create a positive image of Glasgow and a healthful (and quiescent) population.[32] It boasted a Parisian fantasy of fountains and expansive boulevards, where Glasgow's citizens could promenade, visit the 'Winter Palace' (a glass adjunct of the museum, the People's Palace) and admire the vista of Glasgow's industry: Templeton's carpet works dominated the skyline, with Greenhead's Engine Works, and the chimneys of Glasgow's industrial East behind it. The men of the 9th had little to do with the Green; it was the companies of the 7th HLI, all working-class men from nearby Bridgeton, a famously Protestant area, who marched down Main Street and drilled there.

The original concentration of units within Glasgow's fringe industrial areas meant that, by the time of the Great War, the city's Territorial strength was manifested mainly in its inner areas. At the end of the 19th century, successive waves of expansion pulled the city's perimeters out in the north, south and east. This impetus culminated in the massive 1912 extension that subsumed burghs and districts in the west (Partick, Anniesland, Jordanhill, Scotstoun) and the south (Govan, Pollokshaws).[33] Units once on the city's outer limits were now practically central. The 5th HLI, which had been preserve of the skilled artisan, and had a drill hall located in the affluent island of Garnethill in the north-western pocket of the city, was fast surrounded by the urban poor, as nearby Cowcaddens became increasingly full of slum dwellers and unskilled Irish labourers in the 19th century. Slightly to the south, in Yorkhill, the 6th HLI's drill hall, provided in part with funds from Glasgow's grocery entrepreneur Sir Thomas Lipton, became wedged between Anderston and the skilled working-class suburb of Partick. The home of the 7th Cameronians – in Coplaw Street,

[32] Irene Maver, 'Glasgow's public parks and the community, 1850–1914: a case study in Scottish civic interventionalism' in *Urban History* 25 (1998), pp.323–47.
[33] Maver, *Glasgow*, pp.155–9. Nicholas J Morgan, 'Building the city' in W Hamish Fraser and Irene Maver (eds.), *Glasgow Volume II: 1830-1912* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp.8–9.

Pollokshields – was then brought into the city, the only infantry unit in this newest southern suburb.[34]

The infantry was not the end of Glasgow's volunteers. The city's specialist skilled workforce encouraged the foundation of engineer and artillery companies.[35] Altogether, Glasgow raised 15 artillery corps in the earliest volunteer days from across the city's workforce. By 1908, this had consolidated into one field artillery brigade, consisting of three batteries and an ammunition column.[36] Headquarters for the city's Royal Field Artillery (RFA) unit were located at Taylor Street, nearby Glasgow Cathedral, in Townhead, which had formed the north-eastern corner of the city's limits. Two batteries of the Field Brigade were located in Govan, an area famous for its shipyards and outside of Glasgow's reach in 1908, but which harboured significant concentrations of skilled workers. Another battery, in Percy Street, Maryhill, benefitted from the nearby artillery base, as well as Maryhill's wide ranging industrial interests. Nearby, in Lochburn Road and Jardine Street, another two Engineer units contributed to Maryhill's already substantial military credentials.[37]

Newcastle had less than a quarter of Glasgow's population, so its volunteer movement was smaller, but it was still significant. The city infantry unit, renamed the 6th Northumberland Fusiliers after the creation of the Territorial Force in 1908, had opened a grand new headquarters in 1883 in central Newcastle. This did not quite possess the social cache that the 5th Cameronians enjoyed in Glasgow, but it was the unit of choice for those who worked in commercial offices nearby [Figure 3]. Sir George Renwick, shipowner and one of Newcastle's most prominent citizens in the early 20th century, served as a

[34] Irene Maver, 'Second City of Empire: 1830s to 1914: Neighbourhoods' in *The Glasgow Story*, www.theglasgowstory.com/story.php?id=TGSDG.
[35] Ray Westlake, *Royal Engineers (Volunteers) 1859–1908* (Wembley: R A Westlake, 1983); Norman E H Litchfield and Ray Westlake, *The Volunteer Artillery: 1859–1908: their lineage, uniforms and badges* (Nottingham: Sherwood, 1982), pp.1–6.
[36] Litchfield and Westlake, *Volunteer Artillery*, p.105
[37] Westlake, *Royal Engineers*, p.10.

sergeant in the unit in the 1880s.[38] Spatially, the 6th also had civic clout. On the northern edge of the old city, adjacent to Barras Bridge (the main traffic route into the city), and opposite St Thomas' Church (the city's second church) and its extensive churchyard, the large red brick edifice took up 18,525 square feet of the small St Mary's Place. Newcastle's largest drill hall, easily accommodating 10,000 standing or 2,000 seated, thus became a desirable venue for civic and public enterprises, such as exhibitions and dances.[39]

The city's only other infantry corps was based in the east, originating in the small township of Walker on Tyne [Figure 4]. Lying between Newcastle and the urban district of Wallsend, this took up much of the headland created by the loop of the Tyne. Once a quiet village, Walker's position on top of three seams of Newcastle's buried coalfield transformed the area into an industrial hub by the end of the 19th century. The sinking of three pits at Walker colliery, producing the High Main coal so prized in London domestic markets, was followed by the foundation of iron works. It was for shipbuilding, however, that the area would become most famous. Wigham Richardson's Neptune Yard and Mitchell's shipyard, both at Low Walker helped forge the significance of 'Tyne Built' as a mark of quality.[40]

Walker's social hierarchies had created the manpower volunteer unit that, from 1868, occupied premises on Church Street – the area's main street. Acquiring additional facilities over the years, including a Belfast curved roof, refreshment and mess rooms, the latest addition before 1914 had been a brass plaque in the entrance hall – a testament to the 191 officers and men of the '2nd Northumberland Fusiliers, V.B.' who served in the Boer War. In 1904, just before the unit was retitled the 5th Northumberland Fusiliers, T.F, the township

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[38] *St George's Gazette* (hereafter *StGG*) 20/11/19222, p.280.

[39] *Ward's Directory: Newcastle, Gateshead, North and South Shields, Jarrow, Sunderland, and the adjacent villages* (Newcastle: Ward & Sons, 1921), p.217. Hereafter *Ward's Directory*. For locations of the drill halls of Newcastle upon Tyne used in this thesis see Osborne, *Always Ready*, p.202.

[40] Dick Keys, *From Walker to the World: Charles Mitchell's Low Walker Shipyard* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Newcastle Libraries & Information Service, 1997). Swan, Hunter, & Wigham Richardson Ltd, *Swan, Hunter, Wigham Richardson, Wallsend and Walker on Tyne, a history of the company* (1906).

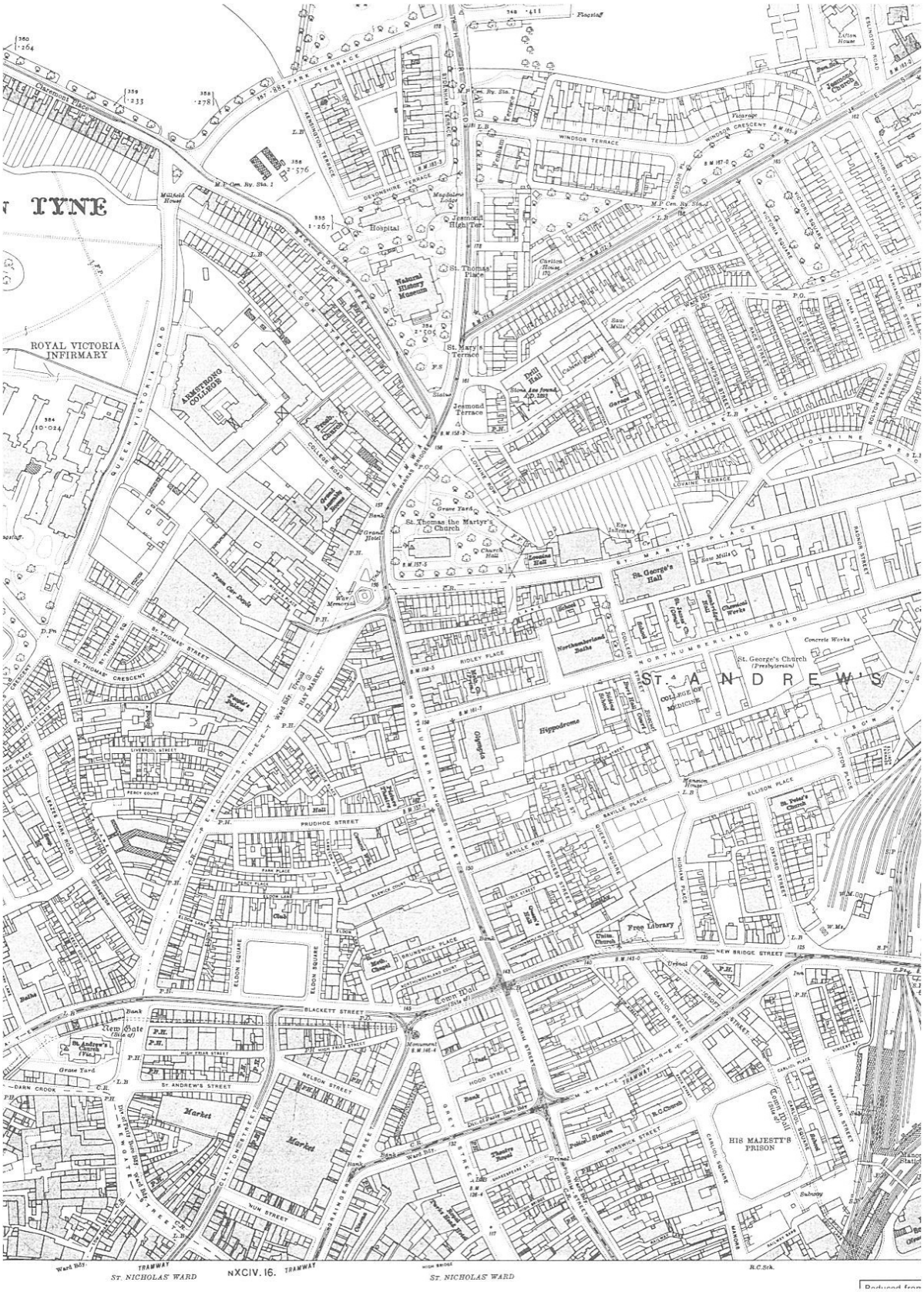

Figure 3 Central Newcastle (1914)

The 6th battalion's drill hall is pictured just to the north of St Thomas' Church and Churchyard in the centre of the map. This forms the apex of the triangle, with Barras Bridge, a major traffic route, and Northumberland Street, what would become the major retail centre in the inter-war period, forming its sides.

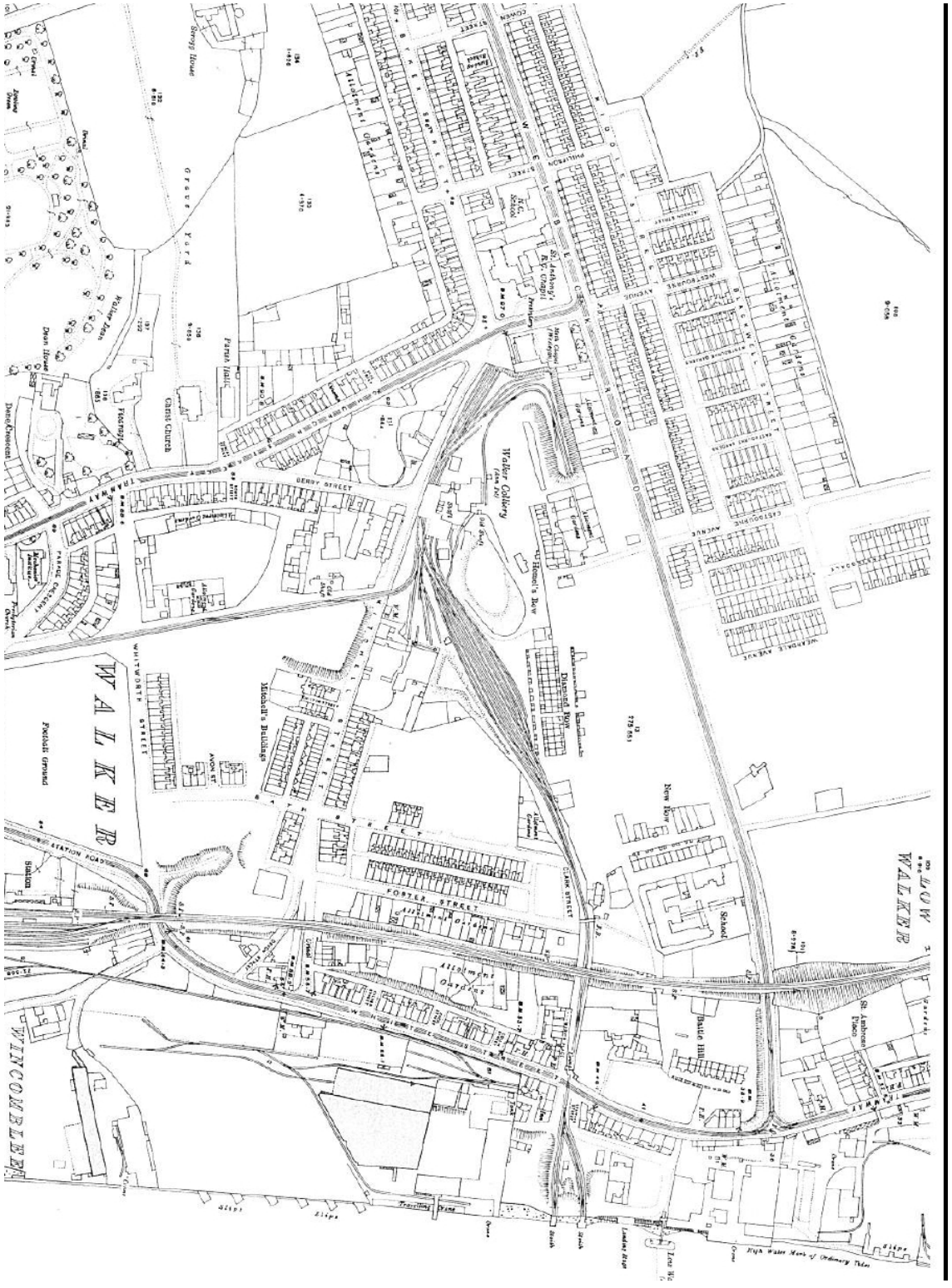

Figure 4 Walker (1914)

Church Street (Walker's high street) skirts the green land in the bottom left of this map. The drill hall is just out of this scope, next door to the Presbyterian Church. The colliery detailed closed in 1920. Walker's Naval Yard was on the river, to the north-west.

was absorbed by Newcastle, with Walker becoming the city's most eastern suburb. In celebration of that, the township's religious and social elite published a memorial of the century that had brought so much success to Walker. Written by a former commanding officer of the 2nd V.B., mainly from notes penned by the unit's chaplain (Walker's vicar, the Rev. Wardroper), this dedicated an entire chapter to the unit, celebrating the local employers and elites who had made it such a success.[41]

Like Glasgow, Newcastle's population supported more than just infantry units. At the foot of Barrack Road, near Barras Bridge, another drill hall housed the RFA batteries of the city, which had descended from the volunteer corps raised in the city in 1864.[42] This had established military credentials as early as 1885, with the contribution of a detachment of the Egyptian campaigns. In 1900, it participated in the Second South African War: corps formed a complete battery for service, with men and their gun supplied by the Elswick Ordnance Company.[43] Nearby, the local unit of Royal Engineers (RE) was based in a drill hall on Barras Bridge, with a similarly mature record.[44] This added to the military cluster around the north of the city. The last of the city's drill halls lay to the north-east, sandwiched between Sandyford, a respectable working-class area, and Jesmond, the enclave of Newcastle's middle class.[45] Here mustered members of the city's volunteer cyclists, integrated into the Territorial Force as the 8th Cyclist Battalion, Northumberland Fusiliers.

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[41]Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Crawford, *Nineteenth Century Notes on Walker upon Tyne* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Andrew Dickson, 1904), Chapter VIII, 'The Volunteer Movement', pp.86–94.

[42] Litchfield and Westlake, *Volunteer Artillery*, p.138.

[43] TWA. D/VA/125/1-12 Papers concerning the Lady Meux Battery, a South African service battery of the 1st Northumberland Volunteer Artillery in the Boer War manned by Elswick men, nd [*c*.1960s–70s]

[44] Westlake, *Royal Engineers*, p.13.

[45] Alan Morgan, *Jesmond: from mines to mansions* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Tyne Bridge Publishing, 2010).

The only military space in the city's west end was not on land, but on water. Anchored on the river at Elswick, a mile up river from the quayside, sat the training ship and headquarters of the Tyne Division, Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve (RNVR): HMS *Helicon*. This naval volunteer unit had been established in 1905, somewhat later than the London-, Bristol- and Clyde-based contingents that had formed its predecessor, the Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers, in 1872.[46] Originating with pressure from below, in which its future Commander Herbert James Craig (local barrister and Liberal MP for Tynemouth 1910–18) played an important part, the Tyne Division consisted of two ships: HMS *Helicon* (which housed its headquarters as well as its own sub-division) and HMS *Satellite*, a sub-division stationed downriver at North Shields. Small in comparison to an infantry battalion, numbering less than 150 in its first years, the unit still drew on Elswick's largely industrial population: by the turn of the century, the ward had become an archetypal industrial suburb, a grid system of tenement housing dominated by three large employers: Elswick Colliery, Armstrong's shipyard, and the Elswick Ordnance Company, the windows of whose workshops looked directly out onto Helicon. Despite its relatively small size, the unit still managed to build up nearly nine years worth of routinized training, including an annual swimming gala in the Tyne and a sailing regatta, before the outbreak of war in 1914.

Throughout the late 19th century, civil-military relations had rested each city's elite. That of Hamilton, which housed the depots of the HLI and Cameronians, did not monopolise civic-military relations, although they were more frequently seen at regimental events for reasons of proximity. Glasgow's city connections were not forgotten. In 1906, the memorial to the HLI dead of the Second South African War was unveiled by the Duke of Connaught in Kelvingrove Park, partly paid for by the council and attended by the Lord Provost. Whatever Glasgow wanted in regimental affiliation it made up through

[46] RNVR Association, *The RNVR: A History of the Force and the Foundation of the RNVR Association* (London, 1932), p.7.

the successive civic welcomes and dinners extended to the men and officers of visiting regiments.

Moreover, the city's volunteer tradition was nurtured by civic recognition: its volunteer officers and men received the freedom of the city at an elaborate ceremony in the city hall. Volunteer officers were as venerated for their military roles as for their social status within civil society. Glasgow's 1909 *Who's Who* – a beautifully produced biographical compendium of the city's foremost citizens – contained 32 entries of those recognised for this military role alone. With *c*.500 male entries this was hardly dominant, but volunteers were nonetheless greater in number than, for example, the newspaper owners and editors identified in the volume.[47] These connections were deepened in 1907 when, at the creation of the Territorial Force, the Lord Provost, as the Lord Lieutenant, was placed at the head of Territorial administration.

In Newcastle, the civic elite attended the regiment's annual observance of its patron saint, St George, at St Nicholas cathedral every year. Successive Lord Mayors oversaw the Volunteer, then Territorial, reviews on the Town Moor, applauding the worth of the local troops; they presented prizes at the annual RNVR regatta and the occasional Territorial boxing match.[48] Newcastle, too, awarded its volunteers the ultimate civic favour. After the Boer War, the sum of £4,707 was raised, mainly by subscription but partly by council funds, to construct a memorial to the volunteer effort of 1899–1901. Winged Victory, sat on a column 12ft in height, with Northumbria offering a palm at her base, was unveiled at the top of the Haymarket in 1908, becoming one of the city's most

[47] George Eyre Todd, *Who's Who in Glasgow in 1909: Illustrated with several hundreds of portraits* (Glasgow: Gowans & Gray, 1909). Trainor consults this as an indicator of civic status in Richard H Trainor, 'The Elite', *Glasgow Volume II* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p.236.
[48] 'Grand Volunteer Review at Newcastle upon Tyne' in *Leeds Mercury*, 6/8/1861, p.4. 'Volunteer Review at Newcastle' in *York Herald*, 23/5/1885, p.9.

prominent landmarks.[49] A ceremony also awarded each participant the freedom of the city.[50]

The Great War and the Urban–Military Relationship

Such were the connections between the city and military before 1914. The experience of the Great War interrupted the normal operations of the British command system and reconfigured some of the ways in which the local and the military interacted to produce military force. This section sketches out the ways in which the massive manpower needs of the Great War changed the place of the locality in the military machine, expanding existing institutional links to the military, and creating new ones. In order to accommodate a focus on the post-war period, and to understand how public memory related to wartime experience, this thesis offers what is necessarily a general history of these wartime changes.

That the social, infrastructural, and ideational links between locality and manpower during the 1914–18 are worthy and vast investigations in their own right is demonstrated by the studies of Richard Grayson and Helen McCartney.[51] The research for this thesis would have benefitted greatly from what Grayson has termed a 'military history from the street' of Newcastle and Glasgow during the Great War – such a study of Service Records of the British army, and other local sources, would provide an evidentiary base of real ties between military, locality and men.[52] Although this would have added another layer of depth to the analysis on collective war memory and myth, undertaken in Part 3, these case studies each would have required their own doctoral study.

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[49] Victoria B Parkhouse, *Memorializing the Anglo Boer War of 1899-1902: Militarization of the Landscape, Monuments and Memorials in Britain*, p.299.

[50] TWA. Acc 604/395. *Presentation of the Freedom of Newcastle to Returned Volunteers* (1901).

[51] Richard Grayson, *Belfast Boys: how Unionists and Nationalists fought and died together in the First World War* (London: Continuum, 2009); McCartney, *Citizen Soldiers: The Liverpool Territorials in the First World War*.

[52] Richard Grayson, 'Military History from the Street: New Methods for Researching First World War Service in the British Military' in *War in History*, 21 (2010), pp.465–95.

In lieu of such research, this investigation has drawn on several secondary works and primary sources. Derek Rutherford Young's research into Scottish recruitment patterns in the volunteer phase offers much information about Glasgow during that time.[53] The civic perspective on the wartime effort can also be accessed through the corporation's scrapbooks and recruitment files.[54] For Newcastle, there is no such doctoral research or archival trace, although there is a great deal written about the service battalions, as well as unit histories.[55] Here newspaper research has filled some gaps.[56] To analyse manpower links, the database *Soldiers Died in the Great War* has also been consulted: this gives us some idea, albeit a limited one, of the links between regiments and locality throughout the course of war.[57] In tracing the general history of these changes, this can provide pathways for future research.

The immediate phase of war was characterised by expansion, as existing military sites dealt with mobilisation of the Regulars and the Territorials and as patriotism combined with pressing economic incentives to create an initial 'rush to the colours'. The announcement of war heralded a short-term downturn, particularly acute in Scotland's export-based economy, which combined with existing martial traditions to steer the country to the top of recruitment tables.[58] In this opening period of war, most military activity within the urban landscape

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[53] Derek Rutherford Young, 'Voluntary recruitment in Scotland, 1914–1918' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 2001).

[54] GCA. D-TC/19 Town Clerks Papers. Raising of Glasgow's regiments. Lord Provost's Office. G2/3/8-10. Press cuttings First World War.

[55] John Sheen, *Tyneside Irish: 24th, 25th & 26th & 27th (Service) Battalions of the Northumberland Fusiliers: a history of the Tyneside Irish Brigade raised in the North East in World War One* (Barnsley, Pen & Sword, 1998); Graham Stewart & John Sheen, *Tyneside Scottish: 20th, 21st, 22nd & 23rd (Service) Battalions of the Northumberland Fusiliers: a history of the Tyneside Scottish Brigade raised in the North East in World War One* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2014).

[56] The major digital repository of British local newspapers (the British Newspaper Archive: http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/) has digitised copies of the *Newcastle Daily Journal* until 1917, and the *Newcastle Evening Chronicle* from 1915.

[57] *Soldiers and Officers Died in the Great War* (Sussex: CD Rom, Army and Navy Press, 1998).

[58] EW McFarland, 'The Great War' in T M Devine and Jenny Wormald (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp.556–7. Adrian Gregory, *The Last Great War*, pp.81–8. David Silbey, *The British Working class and Enthusiasm for war, 1914-1916* (London: Frank Cass, 2005), p.40.

was still centred on military spaces. These were busy months for all military sites, both barracks and drill halls. Maryhill and Fenham dealt with the reservists, called up on 4 August: one newspaper report described a growing stream of men, accompanied by their families, making their way up Barrack Road, enacting fond farewells at the gates.[59] These were processed and returned to Central Station, and dispersed to various depots around the country. Territorial embodiment brought increased military activity to each city's various drill halls, as men amassed for medicals, arranged billets and organised stores and equipment.

Then came the volunteers. Before the civic infrastructure caught up with the wave of enlistment after Kitchener's call for the first 100,000 men, military sites were the most obvious recruitment centres. For the first month of war Fenham Barracks and the National Service League's offices in central Newcastle served as the city's first port of call for the man eager to join the forces. One report in early September described an 'animated' crowd of potential recruits queuing in the barracks as, just a few yards away, instructors were 'hard at work on the "raw material" which is of a promising character'.[60] By September, with Maryhill overcrowded, the civic authorities looked to various other civic and public spaces to service manpower requirements.[61]

The war transformed the army's organisational and regimental system as the locality was increasingly relied upon to produce unprecedented recruitment targets. Like other towns and cities across the UK, the civic authorities, and civic elite, of Glasgow and Newcastle played vital leadership roles in manpower, both by raising their own units and co-ordinating those of other commercial or associational concerns.[62] In Glasgow, four service battalions were sourced from local contexts: the 15th battalion, raised from employees of Glasgow's legendary

[59] *Newcastle Daily Journal (*hereafter *NDJ*), 6/8/1914, p.6.
[60] *NDJ*, 3/9/1914, p.6.
[61] For more on this period in Glasgow: Young, 'Voluntary recruitment in Scotland, 1914-1918', pp.161–97.
[62] Peter Simkins, *Kitcheners Army: the raising of the new armies, 1914-1916*. Elite administration could be long term: Glasgow's fortress company, for instance, did not transfer to War Office control until September 1915.

Tramways Department, famously raised in under 16 hours by their manager, James Dalrymple; [63] the 16th was raised from former members of the Boys Brigade, the Glasgow-based youth organisation, with a military bent; Glasgow's Chamber of Commerce raised and equipped the 17th HLI, with the first companies at least secured from the office workers of the city. The Lord Provost and the Corporation took responsibility for another battalion, a bantam battalion, designated the 18th HLI.[64] Another three service battalions of the regiment would be raised from training camps elsewhere in the UK. In addition to these iconic battalions, the Corporation helped to raise a company from Bridgeton's football club for the 2nd battalion, HLI and another company for the 1st.[65]

Glasgow's population size, and its diverse social and cultural elements, attracted other recruitment initiatives. The city's Highlander tradition made it an ideal counterbalance to the difficulties of recruitment in rural areas. In 1914, after a series of public meetings held by Lochiel in the city, Glasgow had raised one company for the 5th Cameron Highlanders (QOCH) from members of the Stock Exchange, with the university providing one company for the same regiment's 6th battalion. Glasgow's men also poured into the 7th Camerons.[66] The regiment's recruiting office, quickly established in West George Street, also took men for the 4th Seaforth Highlanders, a Dingwall-based Territorial unit.[67] Within Glasgow,

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[63] Thomas Chalmers, *An Epic of Glasgow: History of the 15th Battalion, the Highland Light Infantry – City of Glasgow Regiment* (Glasgow: J McCallum, 1934), pp.1–4, pp. 189–90. John W Arthur and Ion S Munro (eds), *Seventeenth Highland Light Infantry: Record of War Service 1914–1918* (Glasgow: David Clark, 1920); Thomas Chalmers, *A Saga of Scotland: A History of the 16th Battalion, Highland Light Infantry* (Glasgow: J M'Callum & Co., 1930).

[64] John W Arthur and Ion S Munro, *Seventeenth Highland Light Infantry record of War service 1914-1918* (Glasgow: Clark, 1920), p.15. The original men of the 17th included a company of former pupils of the city's public schools, tow companies of men from the 'business houses' and various trades in the city. Young suggests that, in general, the infantry battalions drew from the city's middle classes, whilst working-class men chose the more specialist units that allowed them to use their skills and earn more.

[65] GCA. D-TC/19/1/48. Town Clerks Papers. Files relating to the 1st and 2nd battalions, HLI. Recruiting.

[66] Colonel J W Sandilands & Lieut. Colonel Norman Macleod, *The History of the 7th Battalion Queens Own Cameron Highlanders* (Stirling: Eneas Mackay, 1922), pp.18–19. This history says that these were also largely students or young professionals.

[67] Young, 'Voluntary recruitment in Scotland, 1914–1918', pp.192–3.

other groups stepped forward to assert their patriotism, with a series of public campaigns by the Catholic press in the city in support 'of furthering recruiting for the Irish Brigade', which reportedly raised 7000 men.[68]

As Young's research into recruitment in Scotland in 1914–15 has shown, Glasgow's industrial skill sets provided a huge resource for support units. Between January and October 1915, only 60% of its manpower went to the infantry.[69] Although Young has argued that this demonstrates economic incentive triumphed over patriotism in the case of the Scottish soldier, the evidence can easily be integrated within a patriotic framework: the wish to serve the cause of the war to the best of the individual's abilities is not an outlandish interpretation. Moreover, specialist units could be tied to civic patriotism, and not simply via the Territorial Force. The corporation raised new regular companies designated: 159th (Glasgow) Brigade, RFA; HQ Divisional RE; 206th Field Company (Glasgow) RE; 207th Field Company (Glasgow) RE; 217th (Army Troops) Glasgow; 217th (Fortress Company) Glasgow; 219th and 219th Field Coy RE; 32nd Divisional (Glasgow) Signal Coy.[70] Most of these were drawn from the skilled workforce. Carpenters, blacksmiths and bricklayers formed the majority of the Fortress company; Signals were recruited from local telegraph offices.[71]

If Glasgow established other links with other territorial regiments, Newcastle deepened its existing ties to the Northumberland Fusiliers. Some 51 units served in the war under the auspices of the regiment, a number second only to the London Regiment. These, too, had specific social and cultural links. Newcastle's Chamber of Commerce founded the 16th battalion from the Quayside office staff. The Lord Mayor and Council, as well as helping to administer these, raised an additional six service battalions and two pioneer battalions, nominated the 18th and 19th of the regiment.[72] Perhaps the most celebrated Newcastle units

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[68] *Evening Times* 9/11/1914 quoted in Young, p.201.
[69] Ibid. p.265.
[70] GCA. D-TC/19/3. Town Clerks Papers. Files relating to RE and RFA recruiting.
[71] GCA. D-TC 19/3. Establishment of Trades of a Fortress Company.
[72] C H Cooke, *Historical Records of the 9th Service Battalion Northumberland Fusiliers* (Newcastle, 1928); C H Cooke, *Historical Records of the 16th (Service) battalion Northumberland Fusiliers*

were those belonging to the Tyneside Scottish and Tyneside Irish Brigades, which consisted of four battalions each. These were raised by public figures that shared their heritage. Newcastle's Mayor in 1914, Johnstone Wallace, a Tipperary-born coal dealer and Unionist, spearheaded the efforts of a coalition of Irish Nationalist, and religious figures, in the city to raise a brigade that aimed to rise above religious or political divisions.[73] Wallace also patronised the case of the Tyneside Scottish, pioneered in the city by a similar grouping of elites, including Sir Thomas Oliver, Lord Armstrong and Joseph Reed (managing director of the *Newcastle Chronicle*).[74]

Considering the similarities in occupational structure between the two cities, we must assume that Newcastle's skilled workforce flowed also into the army's support units, at least in the earliest volunteer phase. With the greater regulation of the workforce, and the opportunity that could be gleaned to the skilled worker from employment in the war machine, those numbers would dwindle.[75]In this it is also important to note how, in both cities, the RNVR infrastructure provided a gateway to service in the new naval identities of the Great War during that time. In August 1914, Churchill located the formation of the new naval brigades, and specifically the Royal Naval Division (RND), designed as a land force for the capture or protection of naval bases overseas, within the administrative infrastructure of the RNVR.

Young refers to the recruitment effort in Glasgow to raise 2,000 men for these naval brigades in October 1914.[76] In Newcastle, HMS *Helicon* also became the major recruitment and dispersal centre for the RND in the region, enrolling

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(Newcastle: Chamber of Commerce, 1923); John Shakespeare, *Historical records of the 18th (Service) battalion, Northumberland Fusiliers* (Newcastle: Chamber of Commerce, 1920); Charles Cooke, *Historical Records of the 19th Service battalion Northumberland Fusiliers* (Newcastle, 1920)

[73] John Sheen, *Tyneside Irish: A history of the Tyneside Irish Brigade raised in the North East in World War One* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 1998), pp.7–17. The recruiting effort spread wider than the city and was particularly successful in County Durham, with Newcastle's men accounting for *c*. 10% of the total of the original brigade.

[74]John Sheen, *Tyneside Scottish: a history of the Tyneside Scottish Brigade raised in the North East in World War One* (London: Leo Cooper, 1999), pp.25–46.

[75] Silbey, *The British Working Class*, pp.92–4.

[76] Young, 'Voluntary Recruitment', p.363.

and accommodating men before sending them to the main depot at Crystal Palace. In the summer of 1915 drafts were leaving every Monday from Central station.[77] By the time the *Journal* was clamouring for recruits to replace its huge losses at Gallipoli, an estimated 5,800 Tynesiders had joined the RND – men from all areas of Tyneside and Northumberland – with 192 joining in the first week of July alone.[78]

There is little acknowledgement of a 'Pals'-style localism in the histories of the RND, particularly those units (Hawke, Hood) that Newcastle would lay claim to after the war. That the regional infrastructure of the RNVR did play itself out in manpower links can be seen from a few sources. During a press tour of the RND depot, which was organised by the Admiralty in June 1915, the official information reported by London correspondent of the *Newcastle Journal* was that 'the largest proportion of recruits…came from the Clyde, and the second largest number from the Tyne and Wear districts. Bristol and western ports come next'.[79] In its official history, Winston Churchill asserted that the RND took on 'several thousand' Tyneside miners who could not be accommodated in the new armies, after the initial phase of recruitment.[80] Like county infantry units, comforts for 'Tyneside' units were organised locally, through the branch of the Navy League's offices on Grey Street.[81]Casualty reports released by the Admiralty referred to 'Tyneside Contingents'.[82]

The ways in which the army collected manpower shifted towards the end of 1915, as the burden of numbers, and the organisation of industry in the wake of total war, combined to bring compulsion to recruitment.[83] The collection of the National Register and the Derby Scheme characterised the last months of 1915.

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[77] See, for instance, recruitment information posted in the *NDJ*, 6/1/16, p. 9., and *NDJ*, 6/7/1915, p.6.
[78] *NDJ*, 6/7/1915, p.6.
[79] *NDJ*, 25/6/1915, p.8.
[80] James W Fry and Thomas McMillan, *The Complete History of the Royal Naval Division* (Alnwick, 1919), p.xii.
[81] *NDJ*, 24/7/1916, p.3.
[82] See *NDJ*, 5/12/1916, p. 6; *NDJ*, 23/7/1917, p.6.
[83] Silbey, *The British Working Class*, pp.33–7.

On 20 January 1916, Fenham opened its gates to the first men to enlist under the Derby Scheme, those who had demonstrated their willingness to serve the previous year – known as the 'armleteers' – dealing with some 150–200 men per day.[84] Later that year, the first conscripts arrived for medicals, processing and dispersal.

Conscription eventually occasioned a change in the way the British army collected manpower and how it organised it, with the creation of the Training Reserve and the transfer of responsibility to the Ministry of National Service on 1 November 1917.[85]As Helen McCartney has argued, although this has often been seen as a nationalising measure within the infantry's regimental system, its Command-based organisation encouraged the creation of a broader regional identity after 1917, although not in a uniform manner.[86] Mark Connelly's study of the 'Buffs', which also charted the place of enlistment of the dead in specific units through the war via the *Soldiers Died in the Great War* database, identifies a similar phenomenon.[87]

The only way to survey the role of the locality within the new system is to draw data from *Soldiers Died in the Great War*, which can be analysed according to year and place of enlistment. There are, of course, a number of caveats that must be placed before this investigation: with death so skewed to the infantry, this investigation can only help us elaborate on this arm of the forces and cannot help us elaborate on links to specialist units that we existed. As *Soldiers Died* recorded men according to place of enlistment, we cannot be assured as to the local affinity this expresses. It is also not possible to remove those who enlisted in the voluntary phase from the dataset of those who died in the later years.

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[84] *NDJ* 21/1/1916, p.4.

[85] McCartney, *Citizen Soldiers*, pp.62–5.

[86] McCartney's interpretation accounts for the decline in Territorial affinities seen in the 1/1st and 2/1st. Ian Beckett, 'The territorial force' in Ian FW Beckett & Keith Simpson (eds.), *A Nation in Arms: The British army in the First World War* (Barnsley, Pen & Sword, 2014), p.150.

[87] Mark Connelly, *Steady the Buffs!: a regiment, a region, and the Great* War (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp.243-4. Helen McCartney also employs casualty books to examine the issue of drafting.

In the absence of detailed research, however, this must provide a tentative step towards unravelling the war experience of the infantry section of each city's manpower.[88] The results evoke McCartney's picture of recruitment, post-1917. The voluntary phase is easily visible through Glasgow's 18,274 results. Regiments with existing or wartime regimental ties (e.g. HLI, Cameronians and the QOCH) appear particularly strongly. The increasingly significant numbers of other, non-affiliated Scottish regiments also demonstrates that Glasgow's men selected a wide range of Scottish units in the voluntary phase, and suggests that they circulated through the various units of Scottish Command after it. Although diminishing in numbers from the peak in 1916, the HLI still represented a quarter of the total infantry dead in 1918, the same proportion as 1915, which refers only to the voluntary phase. The Irish recruitment activity in Glasgow is also visible through the results, their increasing numbers suggesting that these men went to plug the gaps in Irish regiments after 1916.

In Newcastle, with a much smaller data set of 8,428, the relative strength of the Northumberland Fusiliers in the results is understandable, considering the number of battalions raised that saw action.[89] Existing ties with the DLI and Coldstream Guards remained small, but strong, during the war. Again, the pronounced rise in the numbers of other Northern Command regiments suggests that a regionalisation, rather than nationalisation, occurred in the British army towards the end of the war. In both cases, the numbers of dead in English regiments, which would probably indicate a nationalised system in play, rise, but never to significant levels.

The data thus recalls local affinities encouraged by the regional infrastructure of recruitment described by McCartney and highlighted by Connelly after 1917. It is simplistic, but the knowledge of support arm connections, and the example of *Belfast Boys,* can help us understand what they

[88] See Appendix A. *Soldiers Died in the Great War*: Glasgow Place of Enlistment Results.
[89] See Appendix B. *Soldiers Died in the Great War*: Newcastle Place of Enlistment Results.

hide. They *are* the 'tip of the iceberg', but the links fostered during the war through drafting and disbandment can only be penetrated by further research.

If manpower links deepened within the locality, the state relied on the networks of local government, and a broader coalition of local elites, to manage wartime societies, as the industrial war machine encroached further into civil society. The stabilising role of local elites, and the importance of urban societies to the war effort, has recently been highlighted by Pierre Purseigle's research into Beziers and Northampton, itself a subject that is inspiring greater historical attention.[90] We must acknowledge similar leadership roles for Glasgow and Newcastle's authorities, whilst admitting that, despite the burgeoning literature on cities at war, we still know very little about these centres that contributed so much to the military-industrial complex. With Red Clydeside still dominating Scottish historiography, a broader history of power and authority in wartime Glasgow would make a fascinating study and would help us appreciate how Glasgow was at once 'Red' and 'Blue'.[91] If the local authority failed in its brokering role between the Red Clydesiders, Scottish Office and the state, the vision of Glasgow that Thomas Dunlop iterated during wartime (internationalist, commercial, Imperialist) probably helped avoid the major anti-alien disturbances witnessed in nearby Scottish towns.[92] With Glasgow's and Newcastle's fundraising rates exponentially high, and with much of that from organised labour, we must interpolate that social relations and hierarchies remained strong and ask how that was the case.[93]

An additional study of wartime leadership in Newcastle and Glasgow, with a specific focus on civic–military relations, would provide the perfect context for

[90]Pierre Purseigle, "Beyond and Below the Nations: Towards a Comparative History of Local Communities at War", pp.95–123. Stuart Hallifax, 'Citizens at War: the experience of the Great War in Essex, 1914–1918' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Oxford University, 2011).

[91] McFarland, 'The Great War', p.554; Gregory, *The Last Great* War, pp.146–7, p.228.

[92] Ben Braber, 'Within our Gates: New Perspective on Germans in Glasgow During the First World War', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies,* 29 (2009), p.96.

[93] Peter Grant, 'An infinity of Personal Sacrifice: the scale and nature of charitable work in British during the First World War' in *War and Society* 27 (2008), pp.67–88.

this study. That local authorities found themselves integrated within the military machine to an unprecedented degree is a well-known part of the Great War narrative thanks to local and military historians.[94] Their story is rarely told beyond the opening phase of war. Adrian Gregory reminds us of the 'continual activity' of mobilisation throughout 1914–15, one that would have been conducted with renewed vigour in the realization of the Derby Scheme.[95] We can also assume that the work of fostering the connections with local units throughout the war, which Helen McCartney has demonstrated was valuable on many levels, continued. Defence measures also brought the locality into contact with the military on the ground, particularly in Newcastle, where the local authority worked closely with the commander of the Tyne Garrison in this respect, rewarding his work with an honorary freedom after the war.[96]

Few historians have acknowledged their continued role in military mobilisation post–conscription, although the importance of local Military Service Tribunals is being increasingly noted.[97] Compulsion, a significant ideological shift, presented considerable potential to cause disruption. If dissent was managed nationally, in this respect, consensus was also fostered locally.[98] This generated its own 'war culture', representations designed to foster consent, at the local level:[99] in this, civic leaders prosecuted their mobilising roles throughout, and not simply for the local battalions of the local Volunteer Force. If military force did not need to be raised, it still needed to be justified. We can offer some vignettes of those processes. The unveiling of the Lord Roberts statue in Kelvingrove Park, conducted with spectacular verve in August 1916, validated

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[94] Peter Simkins, *Kitchener's Army*.
[95] Gregory, *The Last Great War*, p.75.
[96] TWA. Acc.604/405. *Presentation of the Honorary Freedom of Newcastle upon Tyne to Major-General Sir RA Kerr Montgomery* (1919)
[97] Gregory, *The Last Great War*, pp.101–8. James McDermott, *British Military Service Tribunals, 1916–1918* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).
[98] Brock Millman, *Managing Domestic Dissent in First World War Britain* (London: Frank Cass, 2000).
[99] Heather Jones, 'Encountering the 'enemy': prisoners of war transport and the development of war cultures in 1914', pp.33–4.

local military effort: hundreds of uniformed troops, 'entirely a catalogue of bravery', lined up to have medals pinned to their chests by Lord French.[100] It also eased the ideological interruption that compulsion presented, by giving it a historic lineage in the career of Lord Roberts. But we can also see this activity in the plethora of medals presentations that were a familiar sight in civic public life during the war.[101] This became a legacy that persisted in the inter-war years.

Military Spaces 1919–c.1935

A series of personnel directives transitioned the army from war to peace, enabling it to deal with short-term needs (demobilisation, the Army of Occupation, war in Russia, problems of Empire) whilst laying the manpower foundations of the peacetime force. British military requirements in the postwar order had changed by degrees only. The Empire had emerged stronger, or at least more expansive, from the Versailles settlement. Britain still needed a mobile, flexible army to respond to a variety of overseas commitments.[102] It had neither the financial resources, nor the political will, to seek to enlarge it.[103] The claim that conscription had been a temporary expediency in exceptional circumstances may have been rhetoric tested by the extension of the Military Services Act in 1919, but it proved true: Britain's regular army remained small, voluntary and professional.[104] The Cardwell-Childers regimental system was resurrected with little thought.

In January 1919, recruitment passed back to the War Office. Recruiting resumed on pre-war lines on 1 April 1919 with a massive recruitment drive, but also with some extraordinary measures designed to gradually deflate the bloated post-war army, whilst laying down a solid personnel base for the post-war force.

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[100] GCA. G2/3/10 Lord Provost's Office. Press Cuttings First World War. *GH*, 22/8/1916, p.7.
[101] See, for instance, the medal presentation at the opening of the Canadian war photographs exhibition, Laing Art Gallery (*NDJ*, 27/3/1917, p.3).
[102] Anthony Clayton, *British Empire as a Superpower, 1919–1939* (London: Macmillan, 1986), pp.19–27.
[103] Keith Jeffery, *The British Army and the Crisis of Empire, 1918–1922* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984).
[104] Keith Jeffery, 'The post-war army' in Becket & Simpson (eds.) *A Nation in Arms*, pp.216–17.

Short-term service, and high financial incentives for the re-enlistment of those men who had served for the duration, temporarily inflated numbers, allowing both for the demobilisation of men in the Army of Occupation and for the accrual of normal engagements. Between April and September 1919, 126,693 men enrolled (or re-enrolled) in the Army, with nearly half constituting normal engagements. It was the most successful period of peacetime recruiting the army had ever seen, and largely made possible by the uncertain post-war economy.[105]

Peace soon brought ground-level changes, as the army sought to implement the economies demanded of all public services.[106] In Glasgow, post-war reconstitution brought a major change to Maryhill Barracks. For the first time, it housed a Cardwell-Childers infantry affiliate, with the artillery base moving out to the Firth of Forth. In March 1921, the Highland Light Infantry formalised its notional connections by moving its depot from Hamilton to Maryhill.[107] The major transformation, however, came with a national overhaul of depot operations, which was trialled by Northern Command in 1921, and implemented elsewhere the following year. Instead of facilitating the manpower of its regiment, the depots would take a much more active role in the creation of soldiers. Whereas the home battalion had served as the school for soldiery, new recruits would now complete 24 weeks of training before being prioritised for the overseas battalion. This required a significant sea change in depot life and outlook – the enormity of which was a 'growing concern' for the Northumberland Fusiliers in the February of 1921.[108]

This characterised life in both barracks for the rest of the period. By 1926, the depot notes of the *Highland Light Infantry Chronicle* came prefigured with a cartoon of a sergeant pushing a pram of wailing soldier-babes. The years settled into a series of predictable training routines, punctuated by monthly inspections

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[105] *General Annual Report of the British Army for the year ending 30th September 1920* (London: HMSO, 1922), pp.5–7. Hereafter, *Army Report*, pp.6–10.
[106] Brian Bond, 'The Army between the Two World Wars 1918–1939' in *Oxford History of the British Army* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p.256.
[107] *HLIC*, April 1921, p.30.
[108] *StGG*, 28/2/1921, p.25.

of higher command levels, the arrival of fresh blood, and the despatch of trained cadres to the railway station to join battalions overseas. The substance of this training changed gradually over the years, as new technologies of war demanded, although physical drill and discipline remained central to the training of all recruits. Destinations varied too: the Northumberland Fusiliers overseas battalions moved from Ireland to India via the Ruhr in the Twenties. For soldiers headed to the DLI's 2nd battalion, which was overseas for most of the period, the barracks opened a gateway to and from civil war in Russia, Imperial policing in India, with a brief interlude in the Shanghai Crisis (1927), and a spell in the Sudan in 1937.[109]

As well as honing their physical fitness, the barracks was also the place for the recruit's first steeping in regimental lore. This cultural work was intended to manufacture esprit de corps within a disparate body of men. It was often communicated in mundane form in the historical pamphlets of regimental deeds, lectures or other educative tools. It also had extraordinary manifestations: specific days of regimental celebration, where the recounting of historic myth and memory was intermingled with sports, a half-holiday, and a ritual parade. The depot and all regular battalions of the Northumberland Fusiliers, with their patron saint as St. George, used his feast day (23 April) to mark their regimental achievements, past and present. Nearly seven months later, on 5 November, Fenham was again enlivened with parades in the observance of Inkerman Day, in recognition of their part in the Crimean battle, one of the 1st DLI's (as the 68th Light Infantry) proudest engagements. At Maryhill, the HLI marked the anniversary of Assaye each September with similar parades, but visiting regiments brought with them their regimental traditions. From the instigation, all military establishments took the ritual of Armistice Day as a national day of commemoration very seriously. This anniversary thus brought another raft of solemn parading, church services and the two minutes' silence. Although this

[109] Harry Moses, *For Your Tomorrow: a history of the 2nd Battalion, the Durham Light Infantry, 1919-1955* (Durham: The Memoir Club, 2012).

always fitted the wider public mood, in its emphasis on solemnity and its adherence to the silence, Armistice Day did present another opportunity to rehearse regimental achievement and outline soldierly values.

It was the news of these routines, and a good deal of Sports, that shone out of public regimental discourse within the regiments' journals. Parsimony was referred to in the occasional wearied acknowledgement to the culls to the material base of the armed forces, but is worth noting that the ground-level effects of these measures could be limited. The HLI, DLI, and Northumberland Fusiliers all ducked the reductions at the end of 1921, when five regiments had lost two of their battalions.[110] The 'Geddes Axe' – the 'damoclean terror' of post-war public expenditure, as one officer of the Northumberland Fusiliers described it – was bountiful to the Northumberland Fusiliers, who received six officers and 107 men from the disbanded Irish regiments of Army Order 133; although the unabashed assault on regimental identity, and the careless treatment of regimental officers, obviously had an unnerving effect on the depot's scribe.[111] Parsimony could not be completely avoided, however. In July 1923, Army Order 99 reduced the numbers of depot personnel. It was a 'bolt from the blue…[which]…disturbed our serenity somewhat' but it was a fact of life in the new post-war public order.[112]

Many other factors affected the ebb and flow of life in the barracks. The influx of recruits was irregular. Wider establishment figures influenced recruitment objectives set per regiment, ones administered (after 1921) at Command Level. These fed different regiments in turn to produce training drafts on the ground. When a regiment was closed for recruiting, this aspect of barracks' life was quiet. 'There is,' the depot scribe of the HLI noted, 'surely no task more brain racking than to…write notes on a period so uncompromisingly devoid of

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[110] The infantry fared much better than the regular cavalry during this period. See Strachan, *Politics of the British Army*, p.209.

[111] *StGG*, 30/12/1922, p.196.

[112] *HLIC* July 1923, p.123. See also the responses of the Northumberland Fusiliers in the *StGG* 20/4/1923, p.60.

incident as the past quarter.'[113] Life operated on feast or famine as the enlistment patterns of Northern and Scottish Command, filtered by the needs of the battalions, produced men at the depots.

Other factors caused numbers to swell and deflate. For Maryhill, particularly, visiting infantry battalions increased population significantly. The differences between the census returns of 1921 and 1931, the latter being roughly 50% of the former, had little to do with the grand narrative of cuts or decline in enlistments (indeed, 1931 was one of the best years for enlistments in the two decades). The Army's post-war commitments mattered more. In June 1921, very few, if any, of the 1348 'inmates' recorded at Maryhill were fresh recruits – the HLI's recruitment, then in the hands of the depot commander, had been slow to adapt to the move from Hamilton.[114] These men belonged to two battalions (2nd Gordon Highlanders, 4th Worcesters) who were on their way to police the troubles in Ireland. In 1931, with the international situation more stable, battalion movements were more leisurely: the 598 men detailed in the census were those of the 2nd Cameronians, who remained in Maryhill for another two years. Their relatively low strength, however, did reflect inter-war restriction on numbers: the army prioritised the repletion of overseas battalions and the 2nd, like other home battalions, was supplying the needs of the 1st battalion which had sailed for China in 1930.[115]

Reservist annual training and mobilisation also contributed to changing population. In early April 1921, a fortnight after moving base, the HLI depot was dealing with 20 officers and 404 rankers called up after the mobilisation of reserves during the coal strike – all of whom found themselves posted to the 1st

[113] *HLIC*, Jan 1925, p.22.
[114] *HLIC*, July 1921, p.113. 648 men recorded in 1921 and 1,475 in 1931. See Table 1 Population of the City of Glasgow in 1921 and in 1911, p.53 in *Report on the Thirteenth Census of Scotland Vol. 1 Part 2: the City of Glasgow* (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1922) and Table 1 Population of the City of Glasgow in 1931 and 1921, p.59 in *Report on the 14th Decennial Census of Scotland Vol 1 Part 2* (hereafter *Scotland Census Report 1931* (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1932).
[115] Colonel HH Story, *The History of the Cameronians, Scottish Rifles etc., vol. 2, 1910-1933*, p.390.

HLI.[116] The Fusiliers' depot, only just acclimatising to its new training role, found their business interrupted, as reservists were hastily pushed into dormitories that soon became overcrowded.[117] The effort was short-lived. Fenham's staff sent the last 181 reservists away on leave at the end of May to await their official release.[118] The same call out would not be issued in 1926 for the General Strike, but Glasgow's history of industrial militancy led to the deployment of the Northumberland Fusiliers, South Staffordshire's, and a squadron of the 13th/18th Hussars.[119] It was not until 1936 that the intervention in Palestine and the calling up of Section A of the Army Reserve brought another, small, batch of reservists to the HLI depot, who were posted to the 2nd KRRC almost immediately.[120]

All of these men, from the recruit to the depot commander, from the reservist to the staff sergeant, would have different experiences of barracks life, depending on their role, their rank, and the timing of their visit. In the Twenties and Thirties, Army policy gradually modernised barracks life. In 1924, electric lighting had come to Maryhill, a move followed by the increasing expansion of recreational and leisure facilities in both Glasgow and Newcastle. Much of this reflected the place of the army as an employer in a far more complicated and crowded labour market – a reorientation made with far more urgency as enlistment figures wilted in the mid-Thirties. Before then, however, barracks, and their facilities, were open to more scrutiny, with photographers and journalists invited to report on the life of the 'modern recruit' down to the level of menu.[121]

These endeavours were largely designed to dissolve the walls that separated the city from its military. This was not, of course, as much of an issue for the Territorial component of each city, with their headquarters integrated into urban geography at the level of street and neighbourhood. Despite the question

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[116] *HLIC* April 1921, p.73.
[117] *StGG*, 30/4/1921, p.51.
[118] *StGG*, 31/5/1921, p.72.
[119] Lt.-Col. L B Oatts, *Proud Heritage. The Story of the Highland Light Infantry. Vol. 4.* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1964), p.158.
[120] *HLIC* Jan 1937, p.13.
[121] *GH*, 18/4/1932, p.3.

mark that hung over this volunteer component in 1919, and the fractious negotiations over purpose and terms of service, Churchill did reconstitute the Territorial Force, in practically the same form, as the 'Territorial Army' (TA) in the early part of 1920.[122] The breathing of life back into the drill halls of the volunteer infrastructure was not without upheaval, or cost to strength and integrity. An immediate sharp fall in establishment came from the demobilisation of the General Hospital units, which had still been required in the immediate aftermath of war: these were dissolved in 1922.

The rebirth of the TA occurred in the context of economy in public expenditure that would affect all armed forces, and other areas of national expenditure.[123] Glasgow, which had an exceptionally high number of infantry units, was particularly vulnerable to cuts. The 8th HLI did not make it through reconstitution at all. In 1922, the 8th Cameronians also fell in the service of frugality, merging with the 5th to found a new unit nominated the 5th/8th. Although bearing the legacy of units in its name, it preserved more the traditions and identity of the 5th, whose drill hall at West Princes Street in the west end continued to serve as headquarters.[124] In Northumberland's case, its yeomanry unit (the Northumberland Hussars) was reconstituted; Glasgow's 'Queen's Own Royal Glasgow Yeomanry' were converted to artillery. But Newcastle's pre-war Territorial Force was not revived completely, with the decision not to reconstitute any of the Army Cyclist battalions removing the 'Northern Cyclists' from the city's military scene.

Examining establishment figures for Glasgow and Newcastle over the period demonstrates the major, and minor, adjustments that were made to each Association over the two decades.[125] These did not have a uniform impact.

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[122] Peter Dennis, *The Territorial Army* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987), pp.33–64.

[123] John Roberts, *Safeguarding the Nation: the Story of the Royal Navy* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2009), pp.35–6. Dennis, *Territorial Army*, pp.93–9.

[124] David Martin (ed), *The Fifth Battalion, the Cameronians, Scottish Rifles, 1914–1918* (Glasgow: Jackson, Son & Co, 1936).

[125] Appendix C. Establishment Figures, Territorial Army, 1920-1937. Glasgow TAA and Newcastle based units of the Northumberland TAA.

Glasgow's establishment story is, for instance, remarkably coincident with national cuts, as can be seen from the comparison of the two graphs. Newcastle, a large component of the Northumberland Territorial Army Association (TAA), experienced more gradual and slight erosions. This may have been in part because this force was far smaller than Glasgow's: fewer cuts could be made before a question mark was raised against their existence. As the main industrial centre of the county, the Association was also probably more amenable to focus its strength where a large population promised more success.

As can be seen by a comparison of unit establishment in Newcastle over this period, it was the Engineer unit that suffered the most: its establishment dropped from 297 men in 1925 to 154 men by 1929, a number which then remained relatively stable for the next decade. With the exception of the 50th (1st Northern) Casualty Clearing Station of the RAMC, which was axed in the later part of the Twenties, most of Newcastle's other units (infantry, artillery) underwent smaller modifications that, once made by 1930, remained in place through to 1937. This is roughly the narrative of Glasgow's units, with no unit experiencing dramatic reductions, excepting the RAVC units, which had effectively ceased to function by the 1930s. The city's losses were shared out between all units, with the RASC even reaching over double their reconstitution establishment by 1935.

It was not all reductions. In October 1925, Samuel Hoare, then Minister for Air, introduced the new scheme of air defence, in which Glasgow was to have a role, to 'influential citizens' of the city. This auxiliary air force, designed for home defence, limited expenditure by making a quarter of these squadrons (envisaged as numbering 52) non-regular. Glasgow, Hoare declared, had been chosen partly for its scientific expertise (to marry scientific research to the solution of the technical problems of the Air Ministry), and partly to link up air service and industry in the service of manpower, to meet its specialist and technical requirements.[126] The recent foundation of Glasgow's 'Scottish Flying Club',

[126] BMS 18, p.35. *GH,* 27/10/1925.

under the patronage of Lord Weir (Scottish industrialist, former President of the Air Council, wartime munitions director in Scotland and Glasgow resident) played a part – the city offered both a pool of potential officers and influential patrons. The size and efficiency of its Territorial administration may also have been significant: Glasgow's Association would now administer the new establishment of 23 officers and 177 airmen, of whom 152 would be Territorial. Glasgow's new auxiliary air unit (No. 602 Bomber Squadron) had new headquarters near the 7th Cameronians on Coplaw Street.

Considering the great changes going on around these military establishments, the urban landscape around them did not transform as much as it might have done. These were tumultuous years of change for Glasgow. The city's boundaries heaved 16 square miles outwards in 1926, absorbing further districts to the west (Scotstoun, Yoker), south-west (Cardonald, Crookston, Hurlet, Nitshill, Mansewood) and south-east (Toryglen), and the north (Carntyne, Lambhill, Millerston). Other smaller gains occurred in 1930, but another 1938 boundaries act carved another 12 miles out for the city, slanted to the east.[127] In Newcastle, the corporation acquired five acres of land for building programmes, pushing the city out to the west at Fenham, north Elswick, along the Benton Road and within the former Pendower estates.[128]

House building and slum clearance initiatives, efforts led by statutes and encouraged by state subsidies, gradually transformed some areas.[129] This was particularly marked in Glasgow, whose acute overcrowding problem had been laid bare by the Royal Commission for Housing in Scotland (1917). Between 1919 and 1939, the corporation built *c.*57,000 new houses and cleared 18,000 houses, with 14,500 of these organised under the Labour dominated council from *c.*1932. Much of this affected well known black spots of deprivation (Calton,

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[127] Maver, *Glasgow,* p.282.

[128] Thomas Faulkner, *Architecture in Newcastle*, in Colls and Lancaster (eds.), *Newcastle upon Tyne: A Modern History,* p.234. AW Purdue, *Newcastle: the biography* (Stroud: Amberley, 2011), p.277

[129] These were the: 1919 Housing and Town Planning Act; 1923 Housing Act; 1924 Housing Act, often named after John Wheatley (Glasgow councillor and first Labour Minister for Health); 1930 Housing Act; 1933 Housing Act; 1935 Housing Act.

Cowcaddens, and Gorbals) but it created new ghettos, mostly in the new suburbs to the north and south.[130] Newcastle's council grappled with the same projects, albeit commensurate to its population size and driven by less acute slum problems. Some 11,000 municipal houses had been built by 1936. By this time the city's population had massively expanded by the boundary extension that continued this western push, absorbing the districts of Longbenton, Newburn and Castle in the north-west.[131] Added to this, the transformation of the industrial vista of each city after 1929–30: the emptying of berths, and the stillness of cranes on the river; the torpor of smokeless chimneys as factories and workshops shut their gates, their offices made over for the administration of the Means Test in the Thirties.

Nestled into areas of relative urban vitality, the city's military was little touched, either by upheaval or poverty. Maryhill was without the deprivation of Gorbals or Calton, although in 1931, nearly 55% of its population lived in houses of two rooms or less and, in 1935, 32% of its housing stock was classified overcrowded. [132]With the opening of the Bryant and May factory in 1919, and its miscellany of industrial interests, work was relatively plentiful. One could still procure anything 'from a needle to an anchor' on its busy high street.[133] Money may have been tight for Maryhill's largely working-class community, but cafes like Jaconnelli's continued to offer the twin treats of hot peas and ice cream.[134] Two 'mega cinemas' had appeared on the high street by 1931. Additionally, pubs

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[130] Sean Damer, 'Engineers of the Human Machine': The Social Practice of Council Housing Management in Glasgow, 1895-1939' in *Urban Studies* 37 (2000), pp.2007–26; *From Moorepark to "Wine Alley": Rise and Fall of a Glasgow Housing Scheme* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989); *Last Exit to Blackhill's: the stigmatisation of a Glasgow housing scheme* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 1992).

[131] Thomas Faulkner, 'Architecture in Newcastle', p.235,

[132] J Cummison and JBS Filfillan, *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland* (Glasgow: Collins, 1958), Table 75: 1935 Overcrowding Survey, Overcrowded Fit Houses in Municipal Wards, p.871. *Scotland Census Report 1931*, Table 27 Houses – Number of Romos and of Persons, pp.77–80.

[133] John Robertson, *Maryhill Road: from a Needle to an Anchor* (Glasgow: Community Central Hall, 986).

[134] Hutton, *Old Maryhill*, p.22.

such as the 'Elephant & Bugle' (the HLI's badge) and the 'HLI' appealed to the market of local soldiery.

Fenham Barracks had never been as integrated into residential areas as Maryhill. After the initial burst of housing development in the mid to late 19th century, there was little that changed in its immediate surroundings. Leazes Park, and the greenery of Nuns Moor, both notionally part of the Town Moor, presented green borders to the south and north-west. An increased traffic, however, meandered up Barrack Road, as rapid development of Fenham's former estate lands transformed it into one of the city's most populated areas. In 1911, Fenham's population had stood at 10,833; it reached an estimated 25,701 in 1937, the most dramatic rise witnessed by any of Newcastle's wards, making it second only to Walker in terms of ward populations.[135] That much of this increase came from the city's relatively prosperous middle classes is testified to by Fenham's death rates: these, in 1930, were significantly lower (at 9.9 per 1,000) than Elswick's (14.9) despite having nearly double the population.[136]

Both cities' volunteer infrastructure had been laid within the enclaves of a 19th-century elite. They would feel the changes of these years the least. In Glasgow, social geography continued to texture the hierarchies of the city's Territorial units in some important ways. Command was oriented towards the immediate western parts of the city, in the prestigious areas of Park and Kelvingrove. The headquarters of the 52nd Lowland Division, which governed all Glasgow's units, was based at Park Circus, in one of the grand terraces overlooking Kelvingrove Park. Dropping less than a mile south-west from this point, over the park and the city's major civic museum (the Kelvingrove Museum) stood the headquarters for two infantry brigades – the 156th (West Scottish) Infantry Brigade, which commanded the Cameronian units, and the

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[135]NCL. *City and County of Newcastle upon Tyne. Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health, 1937* (Newcastle: Malcolm Christie Ltd, 1937), p.39. Returns shewing (sic) the estimated population of the different wards in the city. Hereafter *Annual Report MoH.* Fenham's census figures from Table 3 Acreage, Population, Private Families and Swellings, p.2 in *Cenus of England & Wales 1921: County of Northumberland* (London: HMSO, 1923).

[136] *Annual Report MoH, 1930.* Corrected Death Rates in different wards, p.52.

157th (HLI) Infantry Brigade – in an impressive parade (Yorkhill Parade) of drill halls that were also home to the headquarters of most of the city's specialist units (RE, RA, RAMC). At the end of this, stood the headquarters of the 6th HLI. Yorkhill, was not quite Kelvingrove, but, nestled into the side of the Royal Hospital for Sick Children (known as Yorkhill Hospital) the parade was close enough to the stately white houses that occupied that end of Argyle Street and its small tributary crescents, for ward boundaries not to matter.

Social occupancy was changing. Although the area surrounding the 5/8th premises on West Princes Street was hardly redeveloped, the downturn of the Twenties and Thirties encouraged the conversion of many of the largest houses nearby into flats.[137] Those not situated in the heart of the suburban fantasy of the 'Merchant City' could find themselves the better side of Glasgow's complex neighbourhoods. Nearby Cowcaddens felt the force of the earliest slum clearance initiatives in the Twenties and remained one of Glasgow's worst areas for poverty throughout the period, but Garnethill remained an enclave of prestigious housing and public buildings. Glasgow's School of Art, the Jesuit renaissance-style St Aloysius Church, and the central Synagogue of Glasgow's Jewish community – all on the same stretch of road as the Drill Hall – remained landmarks in the small grid of substantial houses, characterised by their high ceilings, spacious entrance halls and ornate staircases. In the southern suburb of Pollokshields, Coplaw Street's drill halls sat amidst a leafy suburban former burgh that, if not possessed of the same clout as Kelvingrove, was appreciably one of Glasgow's better districts in these years. The ward came second last in the corporation's overcrowding survey of 1935, with Kelvinside (the governmental ward area covering much of Kelvingrove) coming last.[138]

Newcastle's military cityscape was similarly robust, although there was far less to challenge it. The headquarters of both the Territorial Association's

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[137] Gordon R Urquhart, *Along the Great Western Road: An illustrated history of Glasgow's West End* (Catrine: Stenlake, 2002)) p.141.

[138] J Cummison and JBS Filfillan, *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland* (Glasgow: Collins, 1958), Table 75: 1935 Overcrowding Survey, Overcrowded Fit Houses in Municipal Wards, p.871.

administration, as well as that of the military command that controlled Northumberland's units (149th Infantry Brigade), were positioned in a series of drill halls, similar to Yorkhill Parade, in Hutton Terrace, just to the north-east of the city centre. This quiet street, with respectable terraces on one side but dominated by the military on the other, was wedged between the prosperous working-class area of Sandyford, and Jesmond, still a leafy middle-class retreat. Hutton Terrace had a Jesmond telephone address: T N Jesmond 702.[139] This space was shared by the city's small RAMC force, a Field Ambulance unit, revived in 1920.

Most of Newcastle's drill halls, so close to the centre, sat on the edge of a thriving retail and commercial centre, even in the depression years.[140] The 6th battalion's drill hall was just a short distance away from the bustling of Northumberland Street. This benefitted from the reorientation of city traffic after the opening of the Tyne Bridge in 1928 and became the central shopping street, benefitting from the opening of a new C&A store, as well as a major extension to Bainbridge's in the 1930s.[141] The two support units clustered around Barras Bridge (RE and RA) were next to a thriving hospitality centre, of which the County Hotel was probably the most significant.[142] At the same time, there was no worse vantage point to assess the city's fortunes than HMS *Helicon*, still moored outside Elswick Ordnance Co. works. The contraction in world trade sent fewer ships past the *Helicon* to the nearby Quayside. The workshops opposite, which had poured out guns for the navy and artillery during the Great War, although not closed, were strangely silent.

In the old 19th century industrial working class neighbourhood of Walker, too, change was apparent. The closure of the old colliery in 1920, visible on the 1911 map of Walker, would have been hard to bear: another old industry gone to

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[139] *Kelly's Directory of Northumberland 1938* (London: Kelly's Directories Ltd, 1938), p.213.
[140] Purdue, *Newcastle: the biography,* pp.278–9.
[141] *Proceedings 1931–2*, p.lxxii.
[142] Brian Bennison, 'Drink in Newcastle' in Robert Colls (ed), *Newcastle upon Tyne: A Modern History*, pp.176–93.

reunion (the iron forge had disappeared before the end of the 19th century). Walker's Naval yard remained open until the economic downturn caused its closure in 1927 until 1932. Walker's high street (Church Street), where the 5th battalion's drill hall was based, continued to support various retail enterprises, including a cinema, but, by 1931, the opening of Public Assistance Committee offices betrayed difficult times.[143]

[143] *Ward's Directory 1931*, p.411.

Chapter 2

Urban Soldiers and Veterans

On 5 November 1922, an old man, dressed in a plain black overcoat and hat, walking with the aid of a stick, accompanied Colonel Matthews of the DLI's depot as he inspected the troops at the annual Inkerman parade. Shrouded in a black overcoat, he stood next to the commanding officer as they perused lines of the regiment's freshest recruits and took the salute of the passing troops, his walking stick side by side with the officer's ceremonial sword. Civic dignitaries, or even royalty, customarily performed such duties, although by the cut of his clothes the man was markedly not one of these. Lifting his hat out of respect for the passing Colours, laying his head bare to the cold, he presented a fragile figure next to the young soldiers before him.

As Colonel Matthews explained to the troops, this was a man of great regimental importance. David Sheehan, an 85-year-old veteran, had fought at Inkerman with the 68th Light Infantry. Having participated in a foundational moment of regimental mythology seven decades before, he now helped perpetuate ideas of military community and continuity. The image of the veteran

side by side with the regiment's youngest drummer boy typified the parade in the newsreel and the local press, embodying the persistence of the regimental spirit. At the end of the ritual, Sheehan himself addressed the troops, underlining the opportunities the army opened up to the dedicated soldier and particular virtues of the DLI: 'he was proud to have belonged to the Durhams.'[1]

This episode illustrates well how the army's regeneration could embrace a range of participants. Recruits were the lifeblood of the British army in terms of its social renewal, but veteran involvement, mediated by military communities, also contributed to the cultural renewal of identity and military values in important ways. Ex-servicemen had a great symbolic power: transmitting service identities and values to the next generation; embodying the eternal nature of the regimental spirit and evidencing the timeless qualities of 'comradeship'. As well as exemplifying these, they also projected the future of a military career. Recruitment, in this sense, extended further than young blood. Commanders sought to create their sense of community by involving veterans, at a number of different command levels. The creation of both types of manpower drew on the British locality during the inter-war period. The war experience and social forces of Glasgow and Newcastle would have their role to play in the renewal of the military machine.

Recruits and the Recruiting System: The inter-War Locality and the British Army, 1919–c.1939

The history of the social reproduction of manpower has always set great store on the relationship between locality and the British army. The 19th-century British army drew on occupational structures and employment patterns that were fundamentally located, with the casual unskilled urban labourer providing the backbone of the regular forces for much of the pre-war period.[2] Locality had an

[1] *NDJ*, 11/11/1922, p.9. For Pathe footage http://www.britishpathe.com/video/durham-light-infantry-brigade-aka-inkerman-day-par/query/Infantry, accessed 16 December 2014.
[2] Edward Spiers, 'The Regular Army' in Ian FW Beckett & Keith Simpson (eds.), *A Nation in Arms: The British army in the First World War*, pp.38–61.

incredibly important part to play in the reproduction of military force. Regimental territorialisation had two main purposes: to appeal to county or civic pride in the pursuit of manpower objectives and to facilitate the creation of 'esprit de corps' by fashioning the regimental family out of men who shared a distinct local identity, and to diffuse the political appearance of the army, even if it did not obliterate its own politics.[3]

As Helen McCartney has shown, such ties could play an important role in allowing units to endure the maelstrom of total war.[4] Yet David French has argued that the British army failed to make a reality of localised recruiting in peace and war, with inter-war recruiting zones serving an average of 28% of their recruits to the territorial (Regular) regiment – statistics sourced from the annual Army reports.[5] This, he argues, drove military authorities to be far more draconian and didactic in the way they imposed a regimental culture 'from above': it typified the real divisions between army and society and made regimental identity a necessary art.[6]

The argument made here is that locality remained integral to the recruitment system in these two decades – a fact which had important implications for the creation of regimental identity. It is worth examining the developments within the recruiting system in detail, to consider the very specific ways in which the locality was drawn in during this period. The army constructed its recruitment system to enable it to absorb manpower from various social and economic contexts, by building recruitment structures deep into local societies. At the same time, even if it side-stepped a directly territorialised regimental identity, recruitment still *aimed* to produce a distinct regional identity within infantry regiments, even if in some cases the command structure was unable to put it into practice.

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[3] Hew Strachan, *The Politics of the British Army* (Oxford, 1997), pp.195–214.
[4] McCarthy, *Citizen Soldiers*, pp.89–118.
[5] Appendix D. Percentage of Enlistments joining the Territorial or County Regiment: Glasgow & Newcastle recruiting zones, 1920-1937.
[6] French, *Military Identities*, pp.46–8; p.58.

The Army itself never established a consistent correlation between recruitment figures and an area's economic activity – the interweaving of economic incentive and other factors was far too complex. The *Report* only elaborated occupational background of recruits at Command Level once, in 1921. Subsequent reports made observations of economic trends in certain localities, connecting them to Command recruiting successes of failures, but such remarks were short and, ultimately, lacking an evidential base. By the mid-Thirties, even these brief analyses disappeared from the analysis. In the *Report* of 1935, in the last word on the matter before 1939, a tone of bemusement infused the conclusion that:

> 'The effect of the state of the labour market on recruiting is difficult to estimate. On the one hand it may be possible to ascribe a dearth of recruits to improved trade conditions while on the other, statistics show that 58.9% of this year's applicants were either in employment or had been so during the three months preceding their application to enlist.'[7]

Recruitment organisation changed three times: in 1921, 1928 and 1934.[8] In 1921, commanding officers of each regimental depot were relieved of their autonomous and largely independent role in the system: they could not now decide on the destination of each recruit. This was supposed to aid the efficiency of the British army's manpower at a national level, with depot commanders deemed to 'subordinate the interests of the Army generally to those of their own regiments'.[9] Instead, a specialist staff took over the business. Each Command was split into a number of zones, depending on size, which coincided with county lines where possible: Northumberland became its own recruitment zone, with Newcastle as its headquarters. In addition, eight cities, including Glasgow, formed independent recruitment zones. In 1928, in England and Wales, recruitment areas were once more reordered to accord with divisional command

[7] *Army Report* 1935, p.7.
[8] There were other minor modifications to specific zones and areas in 1932 and 1938.
[9] *Army Report* 1921, p.8

areas of the Territorial Army, a feature extended to Scotland in 1934. These measures generated the creation of the Northumbrian Zone and the Lowland Division Area.

These changes placed emphasis on military spaces outside the barracks. Recruitment staffs (usually retired officers supported by NCOs) managed recruitment offices designed to appeal to men in an increasingly competitive labour market. The end of the Great War generated an immediate, although short-term, need for skilled mechanical personnel for the clear-up operations on the Western Front. But the technological advances of warfare had demonstrated that these men were likely to be the future of the Army, which also foresaw its reliance on electrical trades to staff its communications.[10] In 1926, the Royal Artillery abolished the rank of Horse Driver, reflecting the increasing mechanisation of the force.[11] Moreover, with an increasingly generous (as the Army saw it) social security system, and incentives to colonial emigration, even the unskilled worker had greater choice than ever before.

The inter-war period, therefore, marked the first time the Army became aware that it needed to enter the market place in a more active way, although it would need to develop that further in later times.[12] An increasing professionalism, therefore, was brought to recruitment. Glasgow's and Newcastle's Army recruitment offices, both centrally located in the thriving retail hearts of the centres, witnessed these changes. In 1920, the effort to win Glasgow men for the HLI had largely consisted of a display of old photographs of the regiment and its band, outside the recruiting office at 139 Bath Street, organised into a lively display by the recruiting officer Captain Findlay.[13] Such basic appeals could not be expected to attract young men who were aware of their labour choices and participants in an increasingly rich urban leisure scene. As

[10] *Army Report* 1919–1920, p.10.
[11] *Army Report* 1926, p.6.
[12] David French, *Army, Empire, and Cold War: the British Army and Military Policy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), Chapter 8 'A Good Employer? The All Regular Army'.
[13] *HLIC* April 1920, p.34.

the years progressed, the increasing amount of paperwork levelled at the interested urban man communicated more sophisticated messages of the benefits of army service. Posters and pamphlets promoted 'Army Ways Now-A-Days' – the healthful diet, or the sports and recreation facilities available to the modern recruit.[14]

But the system extended further into urban space than the recruiting office. The man in the vanguard of recruitment in this period was the Paid Pensioner Recruiter, men employed on a basic wage, but who earned additional bounties for each man enlisted for the Army, or a particular regiment.[15] The benefit of the approach was not simply that it promoted zealous work by financial incentives or provided a personal touch to the business of manpower. It brought the messages of the British army precisely to the places where they needed to be heard: to the billiards halls, football matches, clubs, or street corners where the city's youth amassed and socialised. In this, recruitment drew more and more on urban patterns of leisure and sociability that were deepening in the inter-war period. We can cite Sergeant Charles 'Robbie' Robinson, who recruited for the Coldstream Guards in Newcastle, as a good example of this kind of recruiter. Paid a low wage of 43 shillings, per week, and earning 2s 9d for the infantry private recruit, he trod Newcastle's streets in search of its finest specimens from 1922–39, amassing an estimated 60,000 miles and winning over 1,000 men for the regiment.[16]

'Civilian agencies', which described a host of different unofficial recruiters, were drawn into these endeavours. A far more reliable source of manpower probably came from the labour or 'employment exchange', which the recruitment system did meet at a local level. Economic incentive might provide the ground for enlistment, but it was as much about how, and where, these choices were presented that could make the difference. Whatever the Army

[14] *Evening Citizen*, 'Army Ways Now-a-Days', reprinted in the *HLIC*, April 1925, p.172.
[15] Appendix E. Recruitment Agencies, *Army Report* 1927.
[16] *Evening Chronicle*, 22/05/1939.

Report's view of social security, it placed unemployed men firmly within a bureaucracy where they could be sought. Each of the committees of Glasgow's Employment Exchanges in industrial areas (Govan, Partick) contained representatives of the Territorial Army Associations, usually the commanding officers of local units, who oversaw the interests of the Army within these places. Their work is obscured through lack of evidence and, considering the paucity of minutes of Northumberland's Association, it is difficult to consider whether this was specific to Glasgow.

At no time did the Army intend to manufacture a truly nationalised system through implementing these measures. The 1921 reforms were in part created to deepen the local ties between recruitment staff and civil society, so 'recruiting officers and recruiters learn by experience where to look for recruits and how to obtain them' and so that 'potential recruits know better whom to approach'.[17] The example of 'Robbie', the Coldstream Guards' pensioner recruiter, whose career was celebrated by the local press on his retirement in 1939, demonstrates that this could work. This was about achieving higher than the pre-war average of recruits partly by bringing a local face to the business of recruitment, as well as easing the practice of future mobilisation, so a future 'rush to the colours' could be better handled.[18] The changes in organisation in 1928 and in 1934 were a reconfiguration only, aligning recruitment boundaries with the divisional districts of the Territorial Army. This was intended to fully incorporate the permanent staff of the Territorial Army (deemed to be valuable recruiters) into the system, which was governed by Commands.

If the Army manufactured its recruitment system precisely to keep hands deep in local pockets, it also modified it to retain manpower in local areas in the case of the infantry. The biggest push towards a localised regimental identity, came from the way these zones interacted with each other, which, after 1 April 1923, was redesigned to support the new training role of the depots. This

[17] *Army Report* 1921, p.9.
[18] Ibid.

required the creation of functioning squads of 30, with numbers of squads decided according to regimental requirements. The flow of recruits, therefore, needed to be adjusted from turning up in 'driblets' to more periodic, but more concentrated, 'batches'. Recruiting zones within each command were formed into groups tasked with concentrating their efforts on forming squads of 30 at each depot *'of the group'* (my italics) in turn.[19] Regiments would be periodically closed for recruitment, with those who could not express 'a claim to enlistment in any particular regiment…invited to enlist in the regiment for which a training squad is in the process of formation'.[20]

To see this system working holistically we would have to examine all enlistments in every regiment of a command – a research task beyond the remit of this thesis. The local constituency of the individual regiments under the review of this thesis is possible, although not for the whole period. During the Twenties, enlistment books recorded the place of attestation of all recruits, along with a wealth of other personal information including trade on enlistment, place of birth, as well as patterns of transfer, discharge or re-engagements. In 1931, the Army introduced Army Book 358 Register of Soldier. This did not record any personal or other particulars, relating to trade, age or place.[21] From this point, analysis is impossible but the enlistment books studies also show that these details were omitted from the procedures of enlistment three years before that, whilst the old books were still in use. Nearly a half of all entries for the HLI lacked details of trade and place of enlistment in 1928. Enough data exists, however, to examine the period 1923–27.[22] [See Figures 5 and Figures 6 for enlistment data.] This suggests that, like wartime practices of

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[19] *Annual Report* 1922, p.8.

[20] Ibid.

[21] See the catalogue description of the DLI's enlistment books at: http://www.durhamrecordoffice.org.uk/Pages/AdvancedSearchCatalogueDetail.aspx?SearchType=Param&SearchID=0cda6e0b-d4b8-483e-8c57-bdea17b34936&ItemID=165136

[22] All data regarding place of enlistment and trade taken from FMA, *Enlistment Books of the Northumberland Fusiliers* (Books 7–11) and RHFMA, *Enlistment Books of the HLI* (Books 6-11).

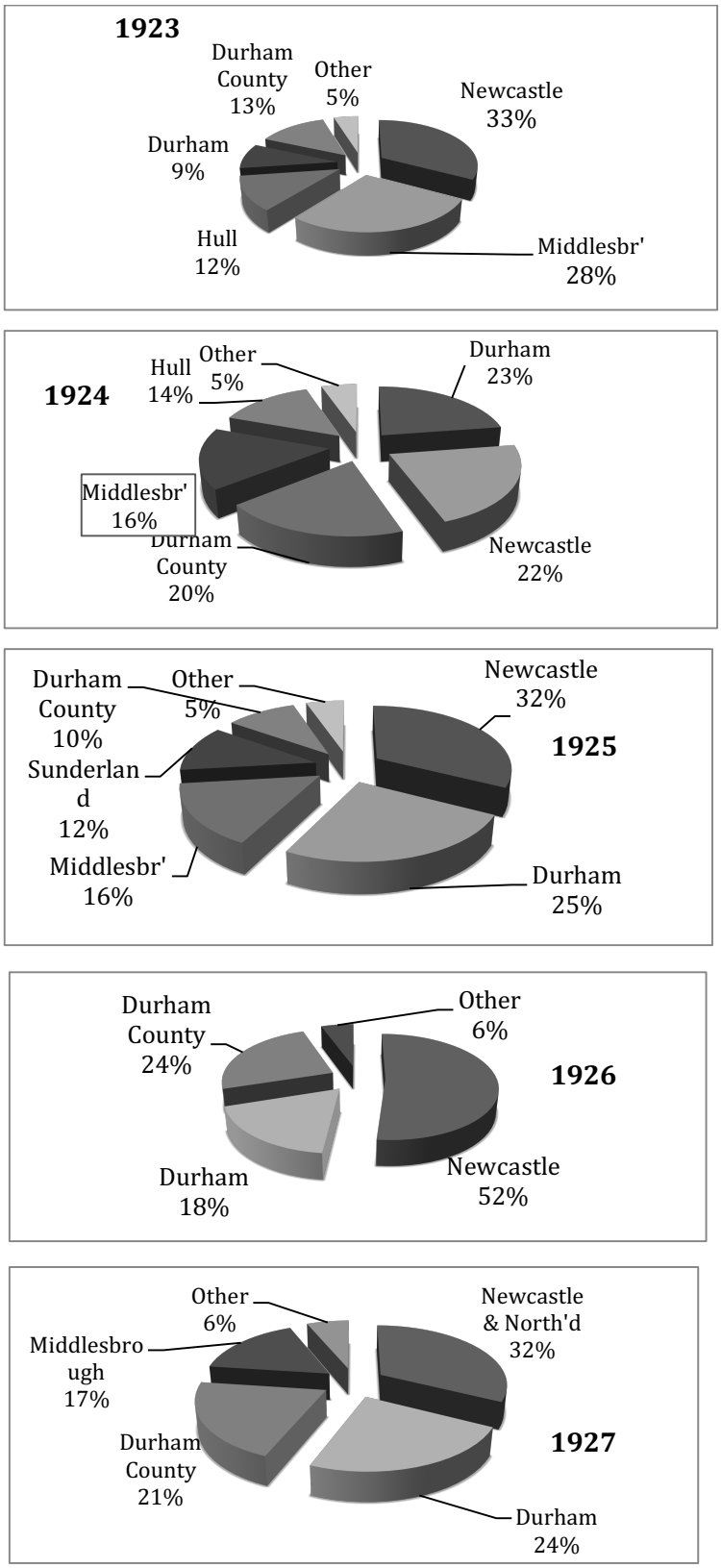
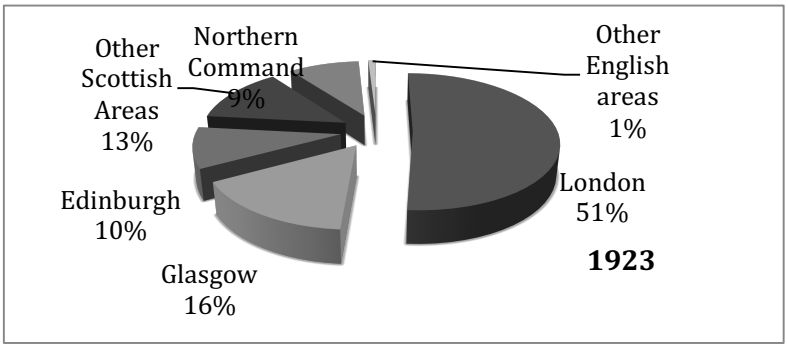
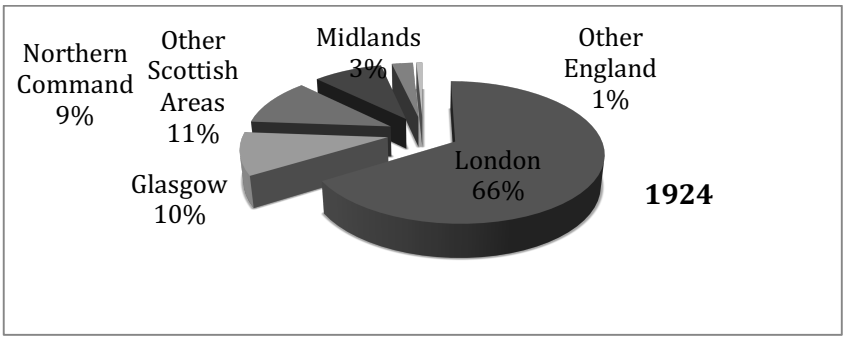
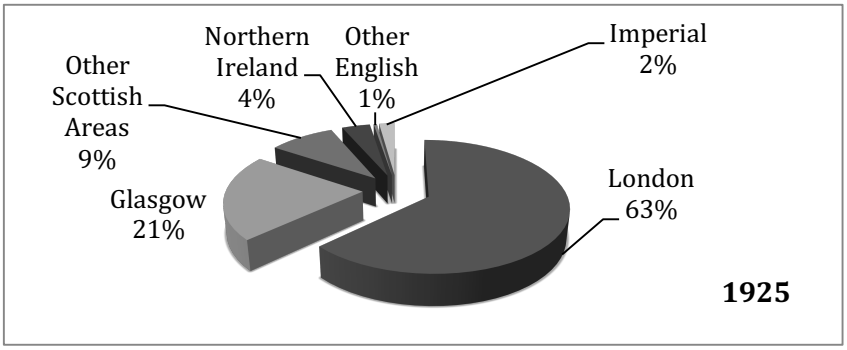
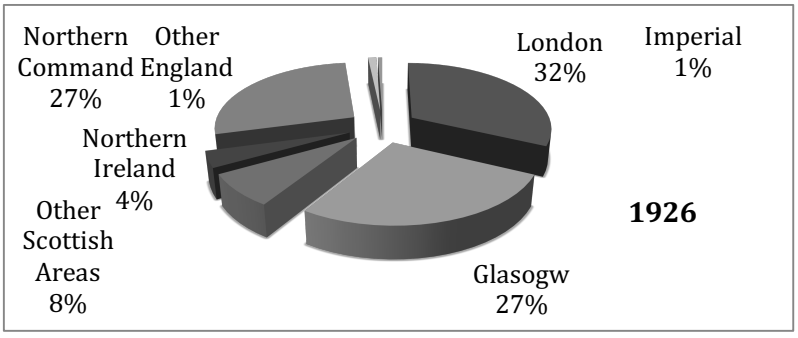


Figure 5 Places of Enlistment Northumberland Fusiliers, 1923-7.









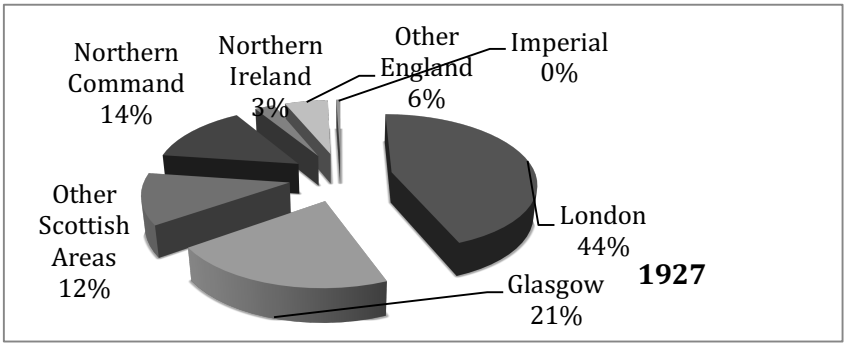


Figure 6 Places of Enlistment HLI, 1923-7.

recruitment in the post-1917 system, the recruitment system was biased to create a broad, regional identity within certain regimental groups.

The first thing to note is that the percentages detailed by the Army Reports, of the proportion of men joining the County or Territorial regiment, have little in common with the numbers manifested on the ground. Regiments recruited according to need and the numbers supplied would have been greater than that needed to sustain any individual regiment in one year. What mattered, in terms of localisation, was how the recruits were shared. In some cases, the statistics indicate that there may be other bureaucratic factors of categorisation missing from this analysis: although the HLI's local component was always lower than the Northumberland Fusiliers it was more than the 0% listed for most years on the Army Reports for the Glasgow sub-zone.[23] We must also admit that place of enlistment gives an indication of a place-based affinity: recruits may well have travelled long distances to enlist; equally, enlistment in a distant location does not preclude local sympathies or affiliations.

The data for the Northumberland Fusiliers gives an idea of this group-based system in action. For the entire period under review, the Fusiliers were sustained by recruits drawn from the recruitment zones of Northern Command, particularly from the large cities and towns of County Durham, such as Middlesbrough, Sunderland, Bishop Auckland and the county capital. These recruits are recorded together, within specific time periods, indicating the revolving aspect of recruitment allocation within the command area. That some years demonstrate a more authentically local character (1926, for instance, is the only year that Newcastle dominated the data) could be put down to an increase in local recruitment within the city or the county. Equally, the timing of allocation, in terms of the needs of other regiments, may have been particularly advantageous for the Northumberland Fusiliers.

[23] Appendix D. Percentage of Enlistments joining the Territorial or County Regiment: Glasgow & Newcastle recruiting zones, 1920-1937.

In contrast, the data of the HLI contains far less of the locality and conforms much more to the narrative of inter-war nationalisation. For most of the period 1923–7, recruits from Whitehall dominated the intake, although Glasgow's contribution is obviously far more than the data in the *Report* would indicate. Even in 1923, the year of the most significant Scottish contribution, a larger regional identity accounted for just under 40% of the total, although the recruitment system does seem to have enlisted the help of nearby regional centres to plug the gaps, to a certain degree: that the HLI was routinely drawing men from the Northern Command and Northern Ireland, aside from London, suggests some design. Low recruitment figures in Scottish Command, from a far lower population, were obviously responsible for this difference. Whilst the Northumberland Fusiliers drew from a large recruitment pool, and had relatively few competitors, the HLI were one of 14 Scottish regiments in line to receive succour from Scottish Command, which had less of a manpower pool to draw from in the first place.

It is likely that the regional component of HLI recruits shifted once recruitment picked up, from the end of the Twenties, when the area's recruitment fortunes rose. This is suggested somewhat from the occasional references to the matter in the military and public discourse of the time. In October 1923, with the depot full of five squads in training and a cadre platoon under its wing, the scribe of the HLI's depot noted that 'under the present system…we receive men from both North and South of the Tweed', wryly adding that one officer, proud of 'his knack of being able to understand every dialect from North Uist to Brighton' thought he should receive pay commensurate with that of an 'interpreter in Chinese'.[24] The official HLI inter-war history's suggestion that from 1923 'about two hundred rank and file in the Regiment were Englishmen or natives of other parts of Scotland outside Glasgow' was probably short of the mark in some years.[25] Until the large intakes from London in 1924 and 1925 worked their way

[24] *HLIC*, October 1923, p.167.
[25] Oatts, *Proud Heritage,*Vol. 4, p.75.

through the HLI (not until 1931–2), there would always be a large presence of southerners: in 1928, this would have stood 454, minimum. Yet, in the early Thirties, the expectation was that the HLI was garnering its men from Glasgow and its environs: in July 1934, the *Evening Citizen*'s military correspondent noted that the HLI, unusually, had not fulfilled its quota, now issued quarterly.[26]

Periods of economic uncertainty did provide imperatives that lay behind manpower, ones that were locally proscribed. One way to examine this issue is through the rates of unemployment within the insured populations, collated by Garside in his study of public policy between 1919–39.[27] Although this does not detail total employment levels, it gives a good indication of patterns of unemployment. Moreover, it is data that is almost directly comparable with those of Army command areas. As in Scottish Command, Scotland was treated separately and, until 1936, when various parts of the North-Eastern and North-Western Divisions merged to form the Northern Division, that of the north-east looked very much like Northern Command: it included the counties of Northumberland, Durham and the Cleveland district of Yorkshire.[28] [See Figures 7 and 8 for comparable data.]

In the case of the North-Eastern Division and Northern Command, the two graphs are eerily similar in their trajectories. Enlistment follows the same path as the insured unemployment rate, falling slightly in 1924, with a rise in 1926 and a small drop in 1927. A rise in 1928 is visible in the unemployment rate, but it is far more pronounced in Northern Command. The major differences relate to the depression period. Whereas the unemployment rate crawls steadily from 1929 to a peak in 1932, enlistments undergo a peak in 1931 to drop sharply again the next year, although the broad trend downwards is a

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[26] *Evening Citizen*, 7/7/1934, p.8.

[27] W R Garside, *British Unemployment, 1919–1939: A Study in Public Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). Table 4 Insured Unemployment rate by administrative division, 1923–1938.

[28] Department of Employment, *British Labour Statistics*. Historical Abstract. (London: HMSO, 1971) Appendix E details the administrative borders.

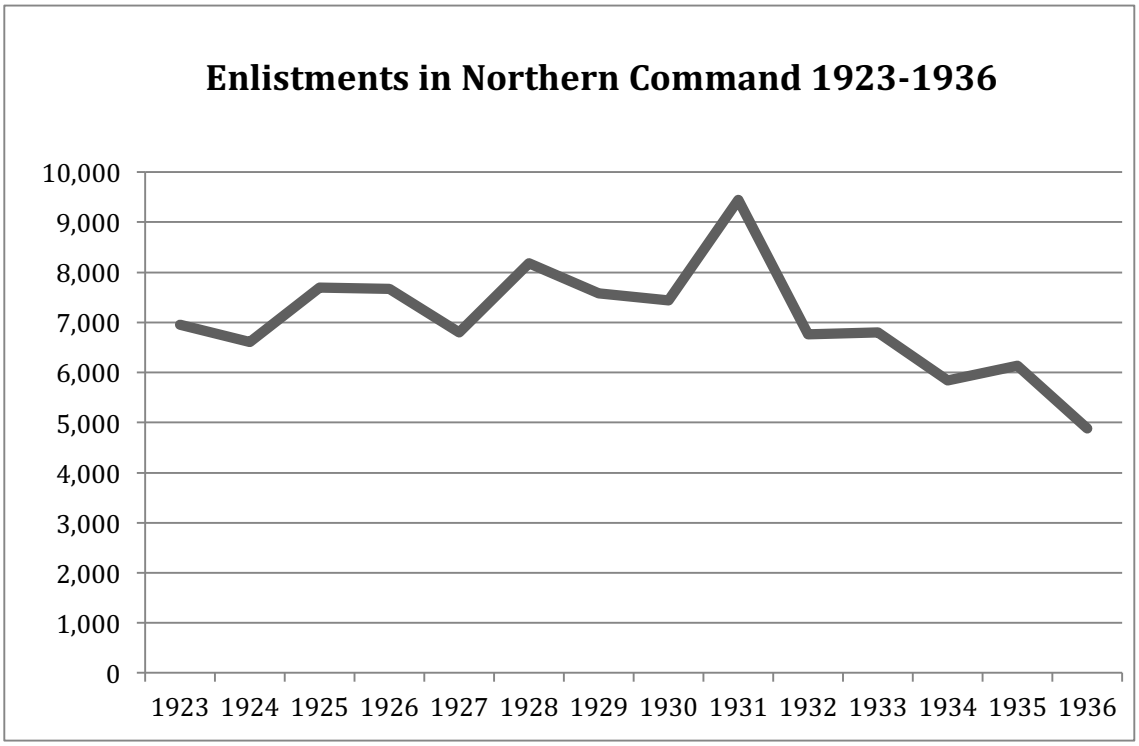
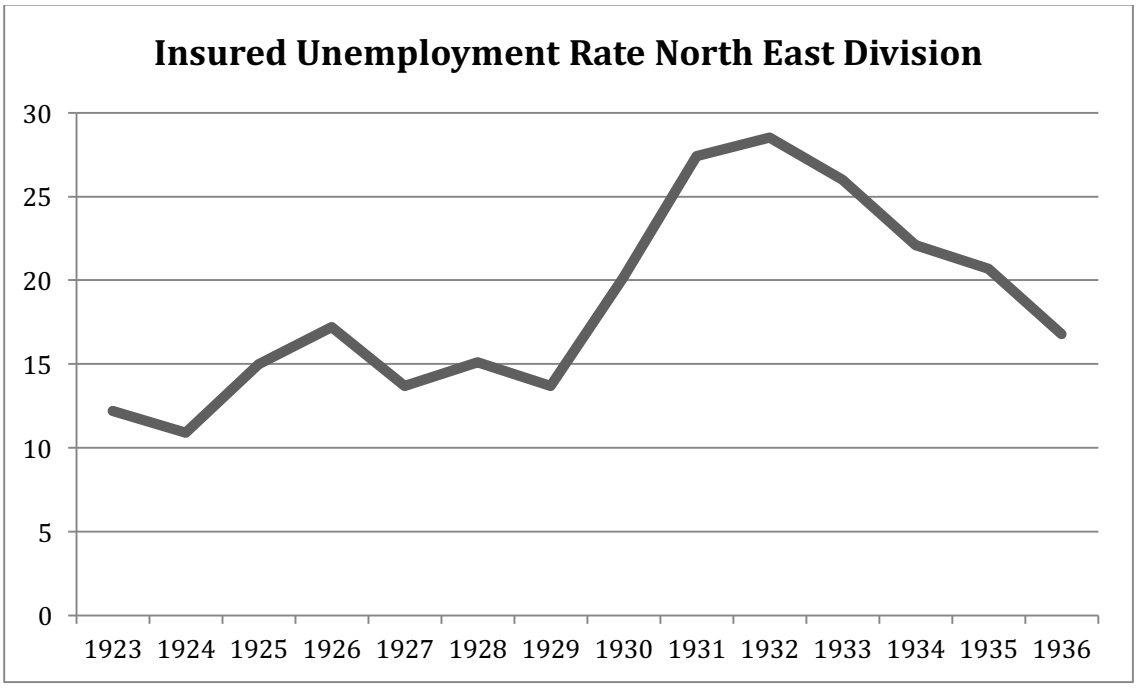


Figure 7 Comparison of enlistment data with insured unemployment rate (Northern Command)



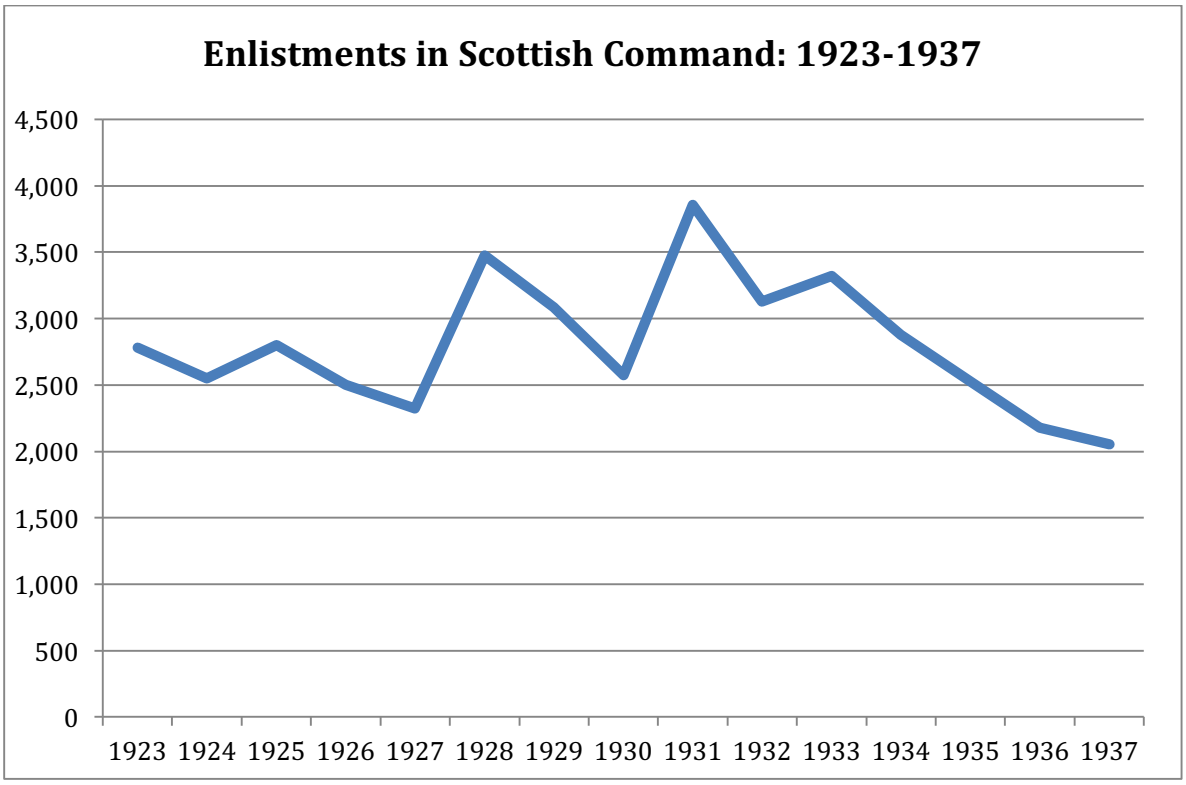


Figure 8 Comparison of enlistment data with insured unemployment rate (Scottish Command).

feature of both from 1932 onwards. In Scotland, there is a more marked contrast. Although the two graphs continue on roughly similar paths until 1927, a peak in 1928, followed by a sharp drop in 1930, repeating the same pattern in 1931–2, distinguishes the pattern of enlistment from that of unemployment. However, the two converge once more from *c*.1933 onwards.

The peaks can partly be explained by army procedures. In 1928, the Army tried an experiment in Scottish Command, lowering dental standards for those who otherwise 'sufficiently' met the physical criteria.[29] However, this gained only an extra 434 for the Army, a good proportion of the 1153 rise from 1927–8, but not the whole of it, although it would have put it more on a par with the small rise in the unemployment rate. The fall of 1930, followed by such a sharp peak in 1931, is harder to account for, particularly as unemployment was steadily rising: the *Army Report*, whilst noting Scottish Command's better returns (up by 50%) in 1931, did not offer any specifically local factors.

How this trend manifested may have changed over time. In 1920, which had witnessed boom and bust, the occupational data listed by command in the *Army Report* detailed an interesting congruence of skilled and unskilled labour. Almost half of Northern Command's skilled labour resource consisted of miners – this formed almost a third of Scottish Command's skilled labour force. Both these results testify to the problems in the mining industry that had been outlined by the Sankey Commission: decreased pay, increased working hours, and dire working conditions. The presence of a similar proportion of skilled metalworkers (rivetters and fitters) in the case of Scottish Command (Northern Command's were only a tenth of that number) probably testifies to the acute unemployment in the Scottish shipbuilding industry in 1920, one caused partly by the downturn of that year, but also by the problems of demobilisation.

We can draw some other data from the enlistment books, although these cannot plug the gaps in the macro-level data. In the case of the Northumberland

[29] *Army Report* 1928, p.6.

Fusiliers, 34% of the 283 enlisting in the regiment in 1925 were miners. This fell slightly to 31% out of a smaller pool of 180 in 1926. For both these years, the miner's constituency in the recruit intake was on a par with that of the General Labourer, the traditional pool of army manpower, which constituted 33% and 31% respectively. The remainder were made up of a varied miscellany of largely urban occupations: skilled workers, transport workers (particularly cartmen) and a small representation of independent small retailers. In 1927, the balance shifted but miners still represented a significant singular occupation within the results: labourers accounted for 41% of an intake of 253 that year, with miners falling to just below 30%.

We cannot read too much into this data, which describes only a section of men enlisting from the region. It is not difficult, however, to relate the data to the decline of the coal trade in the face of competition after the Great War that kept wages low and working conditions poor.[30] It lends some weight to local mythology that, for these men, the Army presented a route out of poverty.[31] It may also be possible to see behind the small section of retailers and shop assistants (accounting for 6% in 1927), the insecurity of the small businessman as the high street became dominated by multiple shop retailing, the growth of the CWS and the department store: a pattern particularly noticeable in Northumberland.[32]Social and economic forces configured in different ways to support the production of manpower for another section of the British army, which had always been intimately related to the locality: the Territorial Army.

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[30] Barry Supple, *The History of the British Coal Industry, Vol. 4: 1913-1946* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

[31] Alistair Moffat and George Rosie, *Tyneside: a history of Newcastle and Gateshead from earliest times* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2005), p.319.

[32] Andrew Alexander, Gareth Shaw and Deborah Hodson, 'Regional variations in the development of multiple retailing in England, 1890-1939' in John Benson and Laura Ugolini (eds), *A National of Shopkeepers: Five Centuries of British Retailing* (London: IB Tauris, 2003), p.140. James B Jeffreys, *Retail Trading in Britain, 1850-1950*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954).

The Urban Volunteer: Manpower and Local Society, 1919–c.1939

An investigation of this topic needs to start with the Territorial Army Associations (hereafter TAA), which administered all the city's units. Glasgow's post-war TAA took offices in West George Street, in one of the greystone-faced small tenements of this horizontal street on the city's central grid. It was a fitting location for its membership: the nearby administrative centres of various commercial, and industrial enterprises would have all been familiar to those on the Association's lists. Like all Associations, Glasgow's TAA designated places for 'Military Members' (commanding officers of local units), Corporation Members (there were seven in Glasgow's case, nominated by the Council every three years) and 'Co-opted' members, those who received their places by invitation from the TAA.[33] Glasgow's Association never obtained perfection in Haldane's ideal of the nation-in-arms: unsurprisingly, perhaps, it contained no working men's or Trade Union representation amongst this latter set. The Association was, however, an exemplar of near perfect civic-military co-operation. Headed by the Lord Provost, who stood as President in his capacity as Lord Lieutenant, all association meetings were conducted in the City Chambers, a brisk ten-minute walk from its offices.

Generations of late 19th-century volunteers continued to be prominent within the Association well into the inter-war years. In 1922, the Territorial Association's chairman (Col Sir Robert C Mackenzie, chartered accountant) and vice chairman (Col Kenneth H M Connal, stockbroker) had both served as officers in the 'Glasgow Highlanders' when they were still the 105th Lanarkshire Rifles Volunteers (Glasgow Highland Regiment).[34] Another member, Brigadier

[33] Membership of the Glasgow Territorial Army Association as printed in *Kelly's Directory of Glasgow* (London: Kelly's Directories Ltd, 1923),1923, 1931 and 1938.

[34] 'CONNAL, Col Kenneth Hugh Munro', Who Was Who, A & C Black, an imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing plc, 1920–2008; online edn, Oxford University Press, Dec 2012 ; online edn, Oct 2012 [http://www.ukwhoswho.com/view/article/oupww/whowaswho/U224044, accessed 25 Nov 2013] 'MACKENZIE, Col Sir Robert Campbell', Who Was Who, A & C Black, an imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing plc, 1920–2008; online edn, Oxford University Press, Dec 2012; online edn, Oct 2012.

General Patrick William Hendry (chairman of Hendry Brothers, Engineers Agents) had begun his Volunteer career as a 2nd Lieutenant in the same regiment in 1883.[35] Sir Archibald M'Innes Shaw, who ran a successful iron foundry business and had been Lord Provost of the City from 1908–11, had been an officer with the 1st Lanarkshire RGA.[36] This section, in their 60s or 70s when reconstitution came in 1920, would inevitably recede with the passing of generations, although it was not until the early part of the 1930s that death culled some of its membership: Colonel William Clark (7th HLI) had been present at the first review of volunteers in 1860 and was still an Association member up until his death in 1930.[37] Archibald M'Innes Shaw's passing in 1932 was a serious loss to the Association.

The Victorian Volunteer, however, remained an important part of Association membership in 1938. The then-chairman, Colonel J R S Leslie, a coal trade shipper and contractor, had been a ranker in the 3rd Lanarkshire Rifles Volunteers, gaining his commission in 1901; he claimed the multiple civic offices that had characterised most 19th-century elite in Glasgow, being a chairman of the Coal Trade Benevolent Society (1925), the Deacon of the Incorporation of Coopers (1931) and a governor of the Royal Victoria Infirmary since 1936.[38] Connal and Hendry were both still members of the Association in 1938, as was Mackenzie who had resigned his chairmanship in 1924, but who had returned to association duties by the 1930s.

These stalwarts were joined by men who had risen within the pre-war Territorial movement and who had served in the Great War. These made up the majority of membership in 1938. Nearly half of this section had also established

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[http://www.ukwhoswho.com/view/article/oupww/whowaswho/U228595, accessed 25 Nov 2013]

[35] 'HENDRY, Brigadier-General Patrick William', Who Was Who, A & C Black, an imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing plc, 1920–2007; online edn, Oxford University Press, Dec 2012 ; online edn, Nov 2012 [http://www.ukwhoswho.com/view/article/oupww/whowaswho/U238488, accessed 29 Nov 2013]

[36] See entry 'Archibald M'Innes Shaw' in *Who's Who in Glasgow* (1909).

[37] *HLIC*, January 1931, p.8. He joined the 1st LRV in 1859.

[38] *Covenanter*, March 1940, p.10.

their military careers by 1922: most had been commanders of units in the 1920s, with some progressing to honorary colonelcies by the end of the two decades. They were also men of prominence and weight in the city's commercial, professional or manufacturing spheres; there was a particular concentration in banking, with just under a half in occupations associated with finance or commerce, although the careers of some have been difficult to identify with certainty. Vice-chairman in 1938, Lieutenant Colonel William Watson, who ran a meatpacking firm, had joined the Territorial Force on its formation and had served with the RFA in Gallipoli, Egypt and Palestine. He then commanded Glasgow's Lowland Brigade RA from 1920–24, joining the Association in 1922.[39] Colonel J F Daly, founder of the Sauchiehall Street department store, Daly & Sons, was another pre-war Territorial. Joining them, from 1926 onwards, were the Air Force members, when the Association took over the administration of No. 602 Bomber Squadron. Of these, the Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale brought a youthful aristocratic vigour to the Association.

But the civic credentials of the Association were also heightened by its co-opted membership. This type of role had been intended for local elites, Trade Union representatives, and employers of labour whose influence, and advice, the Association might find useful.[40] In Glasgow's case, there is no evidence in the minutes that any approach to organised labour was ever considered over the period. There were some notable employers: Lieutenant Colonel Frederick Newell Westbury, Glasgow's Post Master then regional Director of the Scottish GPO, sat on the Association in the Thirties; he had earned his military rank from service with the Royal Engineers Postal Service during the Great War.[41] David

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[39] *GH*, 4/11/38, p.13.

[40] For the crucial role of employers in recruitment and granting leave for camp see Mitchinson, *England's Last Hope*, pp.26–8, 53–6. For the social composition of co-opted members in associations see pp.7–13. The role of employers remained the same in the Territorial Army. See Beckett, *The Amateur Military Tradition*, pp.246–8.

[41] 'WESTBURY, Lt-Col Frederic Newell', Who Was Who, A & C Black, an imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing plc, 1920–2008; online edn, Oxford University Press, Dec 2012 ; online edn, Oct 2012 [http://www.ukwhoswho.com/view/article/oupww/whowaswho/U233310, accessed 25 Nov 2013]

Cooper, the General Manager of the LMS railway company in Glasgow, and who also had a prominent war career as Lieutenant Colonel of the Engineer and Railway Staff Corps (RE), was an Association member at the end of the 1920s.[42] Alexander Gracie, of Fairfield Shipbuilding Co Ltd, served throughout the 1920s; another shipbuilder, Harold Yarrow, of Yarrow and Co, was serving in 1938. In 1938, two of Glasgow's prominent wholesale bakers, Sir Stephen Bilsland and Francis Beattie (of William Beattie Ltd), were serving on the Association.

Established civic-military credentials and connections were also crucial. Of the 15 co-opted members in 1931, for instance, most were men over the age of 60, and nearly half can be found in one of the premier signifiers of Glasgow pre-war elitism: George Eyre Todd's *Who's Who in Glasgow in 1909*. Sir Charles Cleland, for instance, was a far more influential civic figure, than an employer. Cleland chaired the Education Committee in the council. He brought the Association a prominent patron and high-profile supporter, but although he could agitate for the Territorials, particularly with regard to the granting of leave for camp, he could not influence matters in the way that a private employer might. James Dalrymple, the formidable manager of Glasgow Tramways from 1904 until his resignation in 1926, sat on the Association as a co-opted member until his death in 1934. Dalrymple's use of corporation infrastructure in the service of manpower objectives during the First World War had made him legendary, and the story of the Tramways was the paean of Glasgow's municipal identity, but after his resignation in 1926 he had no direct influence over a workforce.

Three of the 13 co-opted members in 1938 were surviving post-war Lord Provosts. Three co-opted places were also allocated to members who might otherwise have been military members, but who now lacked formal connection with the military units they once served. Prominent amongst these was Archibald Douglas M'Innes Shaw, the son of the former Lord Provost, who had

[42] 'COOPER, David', Who Was Who, A & C Black, an imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing plc, 1920–2007; online edn, Oxford University Press, Dec 2007 [http://www.ukwhoswho.com/view/article/oupww/whowaswho/U207861, accessed 29 Nov 2013]

commanded the 5/8th Cameronians during the Twenties, and who was an aspiring Unionist politician, and Grand Master of the Orange Lodges, in the Thirties.[43] Additionally, Lieutenant Colonel Norman Macleod DL, JP – one of the Association's younger members, entering his 50s at the start of the period – had commanded one of the city's service battalions of the QOCH during the war.[44] He combined his duties as a chartered accountant with his commitment to the ex-service movement, in which he was both a prominent national and local leader.

Newcastle's Territorial organisation lacked Glasgow's autonomy.[45] Its interests were vested in the Northumberland Territorial Association, which operated units at county level. The 4th and 7th battalions Northumberland Fusiliers covered a swathe of the county from Newburn in the west, via the mining towns of Prudhoe and Haltwhistle, to the mid-Northumberland market towns of Morpeth and Hexham, right up to Alnwick and Berwick upon Tweed at the north of the county. The headquarters of the Northumberland Hussars, one of the yeomanry units not to fall in the post-war cull, may have been Newcastle-based, but the unit was integrated within the hunt culture of the county gentleman. The membership of the association, therefore, reflected this county interest. This partly followed from Lieutenancy appointments. The 8th Duke of Northumberland, Alan Ian Percy, stood as President of the TAA as Lord Lieutenant until his death in 1930. Sir Charles Phillip Trevelyan inherited the same position when he received the same appointment in succession, making him a rather unusual office holder as a Landowner–Socialist.

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[43] 'SHAW, Sir (Archibald) Douglas Mac-Innes', Who Was Who, A & C Black, an imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing plc, 1920–2008; online edn, Oxford University Press, Dec 2012; online edn, Nov 2012 [http://www.ukwhoswho.com/view/article/oupww/whowaswho/U242863, accessed 25 Nov 2013]

[44] 'MACLEOD, Lieut-Col Norman', Who Was Who, A & C Black, an imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing plc, 1920–2008; online edn, Oxford University Press, Dec 2012 ; online edn, Nov 2012 [http://www.ukwhoswho.com/view/article/oupww/whowaswho/U240231, accessed 25 Nov 2013]

[45] Membership lists of Newcastle's TAA taken from *Ward's Directory*, editions for 1921, 1930 and 1938.

The landed character of Association membership was a constant over the two decades, reinforced through both military and co-opted membership. Successive generations of the Allendale and Ravensworth peerages, who between them held considerable property and coal interests in the county, can be found in the co-opted lists of both 1921 and 1938. Percy's heir, the 9th Duke of Northumberland, although he did not step into all the military offices his father vacated on his death, held the representative membership allocated to Northumberland County Council in 1938. Other interests of county life were represented through the co-opted, and via the military membership: Bt. Col, and Conservative MP for Hexham, Douglas Clifton Brown; the commanding officer of the 7th battalion, Northumberland Fusiliers, Lt Col G E Fenwicke-Clennell, another scion of a landed family.

Intermingled with these, but gaining their seats mainly through military office, were men whose livelihoods came from urban industrial and commercial life. The commanding officers of Newcastle's units tended to be Newcastle men, but they were not the only constituents of such membership: Tynemouth's Heavy Brigade Artillery unit and the Electrical Engineers units ensured another subsection from this eastern area. In 1938, for instance, Newcastle men included Colonel William Edmund Walker, who sat on the Association as a military member during his near-decade-long tenure as commanding officer of the local artillery unit and retained his place after it, managed the shell department of Vickers Armstrong's Elswick Ordnance Works. Major Robert Mould Graham, Walker's successor, was a chartered accountant in the city centre. The commanding officers of Newcastle two infantry units were a shipowner and the clerk to the income and property land taxes for Newcastle upon Tyne.[46]

Certainly, the Association lacked the considerable civic credentials that so characterised Glasgow's, but it was not devoid of civic import. One representative member, elected by the council every three years, constituted the

[46] Biographical information taken from *Wards' Directory* (1938).

city's interest in the movement. Tynemouth was the only other urban constituency represented. After 1925, Newcastle's Council returned only Arthur Lambert. By the end of the Twenties, this wartime officer in the Northumberland Fusiliers had been Mayor twice, and been the driving force behind the North East Coast Exhibition (1929), which brought the city and the region significant national (and international) focus.

The social basis of Territorial Association membership is obviously far easier to assess than that of the men it administered. Local patterns of economic activity not only shaped manpower for the Regulars. These would also influence the resources drawn on by the Volunteers. This tradition had been built within specific economic and work-based constituencies of certain areas, and had developed with them: units whose recruitment ground had dried up could not survive. Even in the years after reconstitution, units worked within their own designated recruitment areas. Most histories of the Territorial Force have focused on the efforts of the Territorials to get employers on board, particularly to grant leave for camp. Although a few historians have considered the wider role of economic factors on service, none have considered the impact of unemployment within specific recruitment areas, or the wider role of work places in sustaining the Volunteer tradition.[47]

Paucity of evidence, and almost insurmountable methodological issues, deter historians from asking these questions. It is incredibly difficult to link Territorials to specific work places. When the enlistment books do list occupation (Territorials of the regiment were recorded under the same system as Regulars), they present general information that could apply to a number of different contexts. A 'fitter', for instance, could be a man who dealt with machinery for metalwork, but also electrical equipment; an 'engineer' could refer to a skilled metalworker, or a specialist in electrics, as well as a professional, or engine-

[47] Unemployment was not necessarily an economic incentive for Territorial service: married men under 26 did not receive separation allowance in camp until 1936, unemployed men could not draw benefits in camp until 1936; men had their proficiency grant or bounty discounted from means testing in 1934. See Beckett, *Amateur Military Tradition*, p.248.

driver. The dearth of data after 1928 prevents any discussion of the depression years, which would allow a full interrogation impact of economic dislocation on the Territorial's manpower base. Particularly in the case of the HLI, which fielded multiple Glasgow units, it is hard to disentangle one unit from another, and make comparisons regarding social constituency.

We can draw a few hypotheses from enlistment book data taken from the Northumberland Fusiliers. Here, the place of enlistment is routinely given for its various units: we, therefore, have clear affiliations for the 6th (recorded at Newcastle or Gosforth) and for the 5th Northumberland Fusiliers (where Walker, Byker, or Wallsend are listed). Newcastle also only had one artillery unit, at this point called the 72nd (Northumbrian) Brigade. Two samples of battalion constituency were taken: from the first men recorded in Books 3 to 6 of the Enlistment Books, covering a period February 1920 to April 1922, when we can confidently say that the numbers reflected a battalion at full strength. This yields a sample of 428 men from Walker's companies of the 5th battalion, and 637 men from the 6th: roughly what the battalions would have looked like on reconstitution. From the Royal Artillery regiment enlistment books, we have the data of 374 men who enlisted in the unit from 1920 until the beginning of March 1924, which was roughly when the unit achieved full strength.

The men that formed the main body of the reconstituted battalions in 1920–22 were drawn from very specific work contexts, those also identified in other analyses of Territorial social constituency.[48] In Walker's case [Figure 9], there is a tangible relationship between some local industry and battalion affiliation. Without more specific data regarding Walker's occupational profile during this time, we cannot suggest whether this was a representative sample of the population, but the area obviously shaped social constituency to a great degree. The majority of its metalworkers (159) recorded occupations that can be tied to

[48] It is difficult to talk generally about Territorial social constituency, as it was so closely tied to specific areas. Most historians have described the pre-war TF (at which most discussions are levied) as a primarily working-class movement. Becket, 'The Territorial Force', p.145. Ian S Wood, 'Royal Scots Territorial Battalion' in *Scotland in the Great War*, pp.107–8.

shipyard work, most likely Armstrong Whitworth's Naval Yard. This, still busy handling orders from the post-war boom, was probably Walker's largest single employer over these two years.[49] There were probably more of Armstrong's workers in the battalion: a good proportion of blacksmiths and other skilled metalworkers, the woodworkers (particularly carpenters), and many of the labourers, may also have earned their wage from this source. Aside from shipyard workers and labourers, collieries still provided the third largest single manpower source.

Regarding the 6th battalion [Figure 11], there is no record of their recruitment areas. As a unit with city claims, benefitting from multiple transport links, the battalion had a more varied occupational profile. Nearly a third of its members were, however, labourers. About the same number would have been skilled workers, probably most of them metalworkers. Some 75 entries can definitely be linked with shipyards. As before, the figure was probably far higher. Miners also featured strongly in the results, although these could have been drawn from the variety of collieries at Elswick, Benwell, Heaton, or Spital Tongues. The 6th did see a good deal of men associated with the commercial occupations and trade around the Quayside: those associated with the transport of goods, as well as those who packed them; those also who probably worked in Newcastle's central offices. A hotchpotch collection of other urban occupations associated with urban living – tailors, bakers, butchers or grocers –made up the remainder.

Newcastle's artillery unit, as a specialist unit, had an understandable emphasis on skilled workers [Figure 10]. Most of its membership consisted of metalworkers, a good deal of whom probably were also represented in those counted as unidentified. It also had less emphasis on shipyard occupations (the

[49] TWA. DF.CLR3/2. Armstrong Whitworth & Co Ltd. Tables showing number of workers employed by the two shipyards, 1920–1924.

Occupations of 428 men of the Walker companies of the 5th Fusiliers, 1920-1922	
Metal Workers	178
Other & Undefined Workers (Labourers)	94
Mining & Quarrying Occupations	56
Builders of Ships and Boats	32
Unidentified (Skilled)	20
Workers in Wood and Furniture	18
Persons Employed in Transport & Communication	12
Builders, Bricklayers, Stone & Slate Workers	3
Clerks & Draughtsmen	3
Commercial, Finance and Insurance Occupations	3
Unidentifiable	3
Electrical Apparatus Makers, Fitters & Electricians	2
Warehousemen, Storemen, Packers	2
Personal Service	1
Makers of Textile Goods and Articles of Dress	1

Figure 9 Occupations: 5th battalion, Northumberland Fusiliers

Occupations of 374 Men of Newcastle's Artillery (TA) unit	
Metal Workers	66
Unidentified (Skilled)	66
Other & Undefined Workers	62
Mining & Quarrying Occupations	62
Persons Employed in Transport & Communication	36
Workers in Wood and Furniture	21
Commercial, Finance and Insurance Occupations	10
Clerks & Draughtsmen	10
Electrical Apparatus Makers, Fitters & Electricians	10
Builders of Ships and Boats	6
Persons Engaged in Personal Service	5
Makers of and Workers in Paper; Printers, Bookbinders, Photographers	5
Makers of Textile Goods and Articles of Dress	5
Painters & Decorators	5
Builders, Bricklayers, Stone & Slate Workers	2
Agricultural Workers	2
Persons employed in Entertainment and Sport	1

Figure 10 Occupations: Newcastle RA (TA)

Occupations of 637 men of the 6th Northumberland Fusiliers, 1920-1922	
Other & Undefined Workers (Labourers)	198
Metal Workers	114
Mining & Quarrying Occupations	81
Unidentified Skilled	62
Transport Workers	61
Clerks & Draughtsmen	19
Builders of Ships and Boats	14
Commercial, Finance & Insurance Occupations	11
Warehousemen, Storekeepers and Packers	11
Workers in Wood and Furniture	11
Electrical Apparatus Makers, Fitters & Electricians	9
Unidentifiable	8
Makers of Textiles and Articles of Dress	7
Painters & Decorators	6
Workers in the Treatment of Non Metalliferous mine and quarry products	8
Builders, Bricklayers, Stone & Slate Workers	3
Makers of Food Drink & Tobacco	3
None	3
Agricultural Occupations	2
Workers in Skins & Leather, and Makers of Leather Goods	2
Public Administration & Defence	1
Makers of and Workers in Paper	1
Persons Employed in Gas, Water, and Electricity Undertakings	1
Professional	1

Figure 11 Occupations: 6th battalion, Northumberland Fusiliers

metalworkers probably came from industrial workshops) but these still counted for 7% of the total. Obviously, the more specialist needs of the artillery would have limited its membership: it contains proportionally fewer labourers than the infantry units, and has an understandable emphasis on workers in transport and communication (saddlers and other horsemen are particularly notable amongst this set). However, the artillery, too, drew miners, with a fair proportion (16% – greater than Walker's set) drawn from that context.

Such data is suggestive of the links between workplace and Territorial service, but there are a few factors to consider, which extended the importance of the workplace further than that of the employer's decision to grant leave for camp. Armstrong Whitworth's, for instance, gave the most basic incentives to its wage earners: at reconstitution, workmen were granted leave to take a fortnight's extra holiday without pay.[50] It also, however, offered valuable cultural patronage. From 1920, the Armstrong Whitworth Service League (a quasi-official club) promoted the virtues of military service both past and present. In 1925, it founded its own magazine that was distributed throughout its works.[51] This was not an in-house ex-service society. It catered for the current volunteer as well as the veteran. Senior management figures gave it clout, with Commander Charles Craven, managing director of Vickers, becoming a member of the League after the merger in 1928. Through its social and cultural activities, the group lauded military service, both past and present.

Serving officers in Newcastle's volunteer movement were intimately involved with this organisation. Colonel W E Walker, manager of the Brass Foundry of the Elswick Yard, served as Commanding Officer of the 72nd Northumbrian Artillery Brigade from 1929–1935: he was vice-chairman in 1928.[52]

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[50] TWA 130/1299. Executive Committee Minutes (DATE). Meeting of the Executive Committee, 6/5/1920.

[51] TWA D/VA/64 Vickers Armstrong Collection. *The Line: the Quarterly Journal of the Armstrong Whitworth and Vickers Armstrong Service League* (March 1928). Other news of the association in the *Armstrong Whitworth Record* Vol 1–2, 1930–1933.

[52] WALKER, Col William Eric', Who Was Who, A & C Black, an imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing plc, 1920–2008; online edn, Oxford University Press, Dec 2012 ; online edn, Oct 2012

Another member, Ernest William Swan, commanded the RNVR unit from 1927, and managed the shell workshops at Elswick. His Paymaster Lieutenant may have been the 'assistant' in the gun repair workshops, where he had worked in the immediate aftermath of war;[53] his second in command in 1927, Lieutenant Commander Samuel George Homfray, had also worked in the gun repair workshop.[54] There is no way of assessing the association between management hierarchies, and manpower in this case. It is interesting, however, that one newspaper report, presumably repeating a reason offered at officer level, put the failure of the RNVR to provide a contingent at its 1936 Armistice parade as that most were 'employed in shipyards or engineering works' and were 'working at full pressure'.[55]

Armstrong's links to the military-industrial complex probably made them prone to support service in their employees. But that they did seems to have been significant for Newcastle's volunteer movement. Yet occupational cultures of workplaces also seem to have facilitated manpower for the Territorials, even if they did not generate it. If the Territorials relied on men to introduce friends to their units, then places of work would necessarily be ideal contexts for Territorial recruitment. It is striking, for instance, that of Walker's 159 specialist occupations, 66 came from the rivet squads, a group of men supporting the work of the riveter, who both worked together and were paid as a team.[56] The same can be said of the 27 of the 75 men of the 6th Northumberland Fusiliers who had skilled shipyard occupations. It is even more pronounced in the case of Glasgow's RA units. This had proportionally fewer definite shipyard occupations, at just under 10%, but rivet squads accounted for nearly half that number: 55 men out of 116. Although

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[http://www.ukwhoswho.com/view/article/oupww/whowaswho/U233048, accessed 27 Nov 2013

[53] *The Navy List: Containing list of shops, establishments and officers of the Fleet* (hereafter *Navy List*) (London: HMSO, 1924). RNVR, Tyne Division.

[54] *NJ,* 16/3/1939, p.9.

[55] *Newcastle Journal* (hereafter *NJ),* 10/11/1936, p.10. The *NDJ* changed name several times in the 1920s, but always retained its title at the start. In 1930 it changed its name to the *Newcastle Journal.*

[56] Sylvia Price, 'Riveters' Earnings in Clyde Shipbuilding, 1889-1913' in *Scottish Economic and Social History*, Vol. 1 No. 1, pp.42-65.

there is little evidence to evaluate the actions of Newcastle's various colliery companies, in terms of employer sponsorship of Territorial service, a recurring pattern in both enlistment books is the tendency of miners to enlist in twos or threes on the same day.

If the importance of the workplace is visible through the data during reconstitution, how the battalions fared in the years afterwards, particularly during times of economic downturn, is harder to establish. Economic downturn could severely disrupt the life of Territorials, with men focusing their energies on finding work. The 5th, for instance, which certainly relied on a few key employment contexts should, in theory, have suffered from the closure of Armstrong & Whitworth's Naval Yard at the end of 1927. We have no enlistment book statistics that cover that period after this closure, although the battalion's annual statistics remain relatively stable throughout the period.[57] The 5th's recruitment in Walker, for 1927, was small (at only 26): half were labourers, four were miners, and another four belonged to the rivet squad. This was not a tangibly different occupational base than its earlier manifestation and, although numbers were small and lower than previous years, we cannot adjudge how this related to recruitment targets.

Perhaps the battalion reconfigured its social make up, and managed to draw from different sections of local society. It could be that the reliance on labourers, men who managed to eke out an existence on piecemeal work and for whom the economic incentive of Territorial service was an important one, became more pronounced. Interestingly, it is only in the early Twenties that the battalion notes record significant disruption in the battalion's life from economic forces. In the winter of 1920–21 recently enrolled men were having to move out of the area in search of work: 'at the moment…there is a greater number of departures than arrivals.'[58] It is difficult to ascertain who these men were. There is no evidence of short-term enlistment during this period, so it is possible their

[57] Appendix F. Newcastle Territorial Units Strength/Establishment 1921-1937.
[58] *StGG*, 28/02/1921, p. 27.

service was too brief to warrant a record, although the downturn for that period is most often associated with the contraction of shipbuilding orders.[59] This trend was not unique to the 5th: the 4th battalion noted the same for Newburn in 1925 and Haltwhistle in 1932.

In Walker's case, although there were references to unemployment, the observation would not be repeated, despite the certain downturn felt in Walker at the end of the Twenties and in the early Thirties. It is possible that, in this case, the depth and extent of the depression kept the shipyard workers where they were. With the shipyards of Tyneside and Teeside, as well as those of the Clyde, all paralysed, there was little incentive to relocate.[60]The development of a more advanced social security system, also may have disinclined men further from making the upheaval towards the south, as broader studies of the patterns of inter-war internal migration suggest.[61]Here, social security may have helped recruitment. It is possible in this context, that the stability that the Territorial Army offered, as well as the financial incentive of service, became even more important in the years when many could do nothing more than wait for better times to come.

Urban Veterans

As David French has elucidated, Executive Committees of Regimental Associations drove the construction of regimental identity. Consisting mainly of colonels and commanding officers, these sought to invent and inculcate collective belonging through ritual and cultural texts (histories, regimental journals, pamphlets).[62] In doing so, however, they placed the veteran at the heart of their

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[59] Purdue, *Newcastle: the biography*, p.17.

[60] In Haltwhistle, the closure of the pits in September 1931 caused devastating unemployment in the coal-reliant town.. See: http://haltwhistleburn.org/page510.html [Accessed 20 March 2014]. Many miners relocated to Ashington, where the collieries still offered opportunity, but would have found it impossible to sustain Territorial service in Haltwhistle without independent transport. It would be interesting to assess the impact of the influx on Territorial numbers for the two companies of the 7th battalion Northumberland Fusiliers based in Ashington.

[61] Sean Glynn and Alan Booth, *Modern Britain: An Economic and Social History* (1996), pp.92–3.

[62] For a history and description of Regimental Associations see French, *Military Identities*, pp.80–81.

objectives, all of which were laid out on formal lines. Taking the published aims of the Black Watch Association, as laid out in 1921:

> 1. To cement the true friendship of all ranks which existed when serving with the Colours, and to uphold the glory and high traditions of the Regiment. 2. To help destitute comrades and dependents of deceased comrades. 3. To assist in finding employment. 4. To encourage recruiting and ensure that young men joining the Colours shall in every way be worthy to follow those who have made our famous regiment what it is.[63]

No doubt many of those who steered regimental associations felt a deep personal and professional responsibility to former members, particularly those who had fallen on hard times, but institutionally the effort to involve themselves in the business of veterans was absolutely connected with the wider mission to reinvigorate the soldierly population, socially and culturally. The Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders' Association were explicit in this. Their commitment to 'help old soldiers….when in difficulties financial or otherwise' was not iterated in terms of Christian charity but understood within the aim '*to assist recruiting* [my italics] by showing that the interests of men who have served in the Regiment are not forgotten when they return to civilian life'.[64] As Lieutenant General Sir A Cameron, GOC Scottish Command, put it at the annual Black Watch dinner in Glasgow in 1934: 'soldiers will work all the harder and with more zeal and energy if they feel they have the support and enthusiasm of ex-members.'[65] The 'object' of the Royal Engineers Association was 'to retain the unique spirit of comradeship which was so firmly established among all ranks during the war and *foster esprit de corps by bringing members together at reunions and social gatherings*' [my italics].[66] They were also deemed powerful recruiters in their own right, through recommending regiments to the local populace through words and deed. In April 1937, the DLI's depot scribe declared that the 'time

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[63] *The Red Hackle* (hereafter *TRH*), October 1921, p.25.
[64] *The Thin Red Line* (hereafter *TRL*), October 1924, p.2.
[65] *TRH*, January 1934, p.21.
[66] *Newcastle Daily Journal* (hereafter *NDJ*),9/11/1929, p.3.

expired soldier living in this neighbourhood and Durham can be and is the best advertisement for the Regiment.'[67]

These aims, and the importance of veteran involvement to battalion commanders, had particular repercussions for urban communities. David French, who detailed the history of Regimental Associations from the perspective of the top of military hierarchy, had little room to explore their manifestation within particular localities. Regimental associations also encouraged the foundation of branch-level associations, affiliated to the executive, which would specifically link veterans to the military community. The way in which this activity scattered infant associations across the UK is not within the remit of this research, but it is possible to make a few observation regarding their characters and patterns of growth.

In general, these branches arose from below, usually on application for recognition by a group of interested veterans: all that was needed was a group of individuals willing to manage the life of the branch, which would need to be sustained by the promise of a large pool of potential members. Branch location, therefore, reflected real ties with military units. These were not necessarily Cardwell-Childers based. Other recruitment patterns came into play. In April 1929, the RASC Association boasted 30 branches, with the Midland branch trumpeting its entrance onto the local scene with a dinner for 400 founder members in Birmingham.[68] In 1930, the Grenadier Guards, whose recruitment policies centred on Wales and the Midlands, boasted branches in 10 UK towns and cities: London, Bristol, Worcester, Cardiff, Birmingham, Ipswich, Reading, Northampton, Shrewsbury, Stockton on Tees.[69] The Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders Association (QOCHA) regularly reported from nine branches by 1939: Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee (1900); Inverness, London, Fife (1907–8); Arbroath & District (1932), Sheffield (1933), and Greenock (1934) in the inter-war

[67] *Regimental Journal of the Durham Light Infantry* (hereafter *RJDLI*), April 1937, p.256.
[68] *Journal of the Royal Army Service Corps* (hereafter *JRASC*), April 1929, p.220.
[69] *Household Brigade* (hereafter *HB*), August 1920, pp.293–4.

period.[70] As the geography of branch location suggests, large populations, guaranteeing a certain concentration of ex-servicemen, made urban constituencies particularly significant.

The examples of Glasgow and Newcastle allow us to see how the decisions and strategies of national-level regimental societies converged within specific areas, intermingling with social and cultural currents to produce a distinct set of veterans' networks.[71] Utilising the Association News sections of regimental journals, as well as local newspaper research, it has been possible to quantify such branches within these urban constituencies. The results are startling, particularly in Glasgow, which was home to over 20 branch-level associations by the mid-1930s. The city contained, of course, the headquarters of the HLI's Association, as well as its own local branch of it. But other Scottish infantry and cavalry had all established branches in the city by 1931, when their communications traffic had increased enough to warrant their own 'Old Comrades Association' column amongst the circular pages of the *Daily Record*. All these branches were operational by the mid-Twenties and had a lively existence through the period with two exceptions. It is difficult to ascertain much about the Royal Tank Regimental Association branch in the city and the Glasgow branch of the London Scottish, founded in the early Twenties, had obviously ceased to function for much of that time. An absence of branch notes for the period was followed by the news that the branch was being revived in 1936.[72]

Newcastle was not as notable for its branches as Glasgow, but it still mustered more associations than its Cardwell-Childers affiliate, demonstrating the blurred boundaries between branches and other military structures. Newcastle's branch of the Northumberland Fusiliers' Old Comrades Association was founded in 1928 and possessed a strong regimental affiliation, if not an

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[70] *79th News*, April 1935, p. 189; September 1939, p.352. In April 1939 it listed 59 branches nation-wide (15 listed at military barracks), but it is difficult to know whether these are established branches or acknowledging individual representatives. April 1939, p.193.

[71] Appendix G. List of Service based Associations, Glasgow. Appendix H. List of Service based Associations, Newcastle.

[72] *London Scottish Regimental Gazette* (hereafter *LSRG*), Dec 1936, p.292.

institutionalised one: its treasurer was the Commanding Officer of the depot, and its president was the Fusiliers' Colonel.[73] The branch of the Old Coldstreamers' Association was closely allied to the regiment's recruiting practices – its chairman in the 1920s and 30s was the same Sergeant 'Robbie' Robinson who recruited on Newcastle's streets.[74] The city's branch of the Royal Artillery Association was closely allied to its Territorial unit – its secretary was the adjutant, and headquarters of the branch were listed at the Drill Hall on Barrack Road. Most of these branches survived the 20 years under review. The Green Howards, like the London Scottish in Glasgow, foundered in the mid-Twenties and again after a revival in the Thirties.[75]

Commanding officers of Territorial battalions, or volunteer units, might also found additional comrades associations, largely for the same purpose as the overarching regimental ones. It is likely, from the different nomenclature and the coincidence of address at headquarters, that the ex-RNVR (Clyde Division) Association, advertising in the circulars of the *Daily Record*, actually belonged to the unit, rather than being a branch of the national-level RNVR Association formed in 1932.[76] The 6th HLI's commanding officer founded its 'Ex-Members Association' quite late, in November 1935, but it operated with regularity for the rest of the period.[77]

These branches were not limited to service-based societies within each city. Military communities were able to draw on a wave of activity that erupted around the old wartime service battalions. As can be seen from the compendium of service-based associations, Newcastle did better than Glasgow in this respect: this research has identified 12 such 'old comrades associations' within the city's parameters that were active for most of this period. Glasgow produced eight. Some obviously met only once a year, like the 6th QOCH Reunion Club, founded

[73] *Proceedings 1929–1930,* p. lxxii.1929–1930.
[74] *EC*, 22/5/1939, p.1.
[75] *The Green Howards' Gazette*, January 1934, p.37.
[76] *The Times*, 23/7/1932, p. 8. RNVR Association, *RNVR. The History of the Force and the Foundation of the RNVR Association* (London, 1932), p.2.
[77] *HLIC*, November 1920, p.71.

in 1930, which held an annual reunion in the Grand Hotel in Charing Cross for its members.[78] Most held more regular 'reunions', like the Tyneside Irish Old Comrades Association who at the end of the Twenties and early Thirties were meeting for monthly smoking concerts, and held fortnightly gatherings.[79] All 'Comrades Leagues' of the Northumberland Fusiliers battalions operated by an elected committee, in the same vein. The 15th HLI OCA was founded in 1919 and, although open to all former members, seems to have had a regular social life, which was located at rooms within the Tramways depots that management had provided.[80]

Despite their lack of formal links to regiments, the associations held great significance for regimental associations and military figures. Regimental communities treated them as if they were their own, proudly reporting on their social and cultural events as evidence of the regimental spirit. In January 1925, for instance, the HLIC published reports on the 17th HLI's Old Comrades Association annual dinner, as well as the 16th HLI's service around the cenotaph in November the previous year.[81] It also covered news of the life and health of the 15th HLI (Tramways) Association.[82] The *79th News* of the QOCH printed reportage of both gatherings of both the 5th and the 6th QOCH; *St George's Gazette* made the same notices for the events of the Tyneside Irish and Scottish. From April 1935, two years after its first publication, the DLI's *Journal* was offered a regular 'Service Battalions of the DLI' section, next to its Depot notes and Territorial News. This transmitted the news of all association gatherings, not just its own. The first column included details of the reunions of the 19th and 20th battalions.[83]

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[78] GULSC MS Gen 1376. Papers of the 6th Cameron Highlanders Reunion Club. Minute Book 1931-1974. *79th News*, December 1930, p.585.
[79] *NJ*, 8/2/1930, p.6.*Tyneside Catholic News* 25/3/1933, p.12.
[80] *HLIC*, April 1926, p.80.
[81] *HLIC*, January 1925, p.42.
[82] *HLIC*, July 1926, p.144.
[83] *RJDLI*, April 1925, p.188.

Additionally, military hierarchies supported the branches of national-level service-based associations: the Old Contemptibles Association and the South African War Veterans Association (SAWVA), founded in 1925 and 1929 respectively. These did not originate with military structures, but they fed off them and shared their values. The Old Contemptibles' objective 'to foster and renew the ties that existed between all ranks', and its commitment of patriotic service to the King, would not have been out of place in the programme of any regimental association.[84] SAWVA was similar. Each possessed a strong national executive, and journal, with ties to national military figures. The President of the Old Contemptibles in 1930 was the CIGS, Field Marshall Sir George Milne, who had little connection to the BEF of 1914. Lord Methuen served as the first president of SAWVA. On the ground, Brigadier General Sir Charles Loftus Bates (former CO of the Northumberland Hussars) and Major General A Kerr Montgomery, who had commanded Newcastle's garrison during the war, served as President and Vice President of the city's Contemptibles branch at its foundation in 1930. This brought the total of UK branches to over 85 only five years after establishment. In Glasgow, the GOC Scottish Command habitually took the mantle of President of the local SAWVA branch, which was advertising its meetings in the Services Column of the *Evening Citizen* by 1934.[85] It is difficult to know much of the Glasgow Old Contemptibles, who formed rather later, in 1937, as an offshoot of the Clydeside branch, and who did not regularly post notes to the journal.[86]

Military structures created, or encouraged, a host of locally peculiar veterans' groups. The 'Tyneside Reunion of Ex-Naval Men' was founded by an ex-CPO, but it received great patronage from Newcastle's naval communities. Ernest W Swan, the Commander of the RNVR and manager of the shell workshop at Elswick, was prominent in the association, as were members of the

[84] *The Old Contemptible*, October 1930, p.3.
[85] *Evening Citizen*, 8/9/1934, p.8.
[86] *DR*, 8/12/1937, p.16.

Navy League (Newcastle branch) and the Mission to Seamen.[87] George Hunter (of Swan & Hunter) made an early donation to the group; Sir Charles Parsons responded to the appeal for funds for new premises in 1930.[88] Newcastle's South African War Volunteers Association prefigured the similarly titled national organisation by some years. It existed for ex-servicemen of the Fusiliers, although it was notionally independent. The Northumberland Veterans Association interacted with the Fusiliers in society and its cultural life.[89] Also in Newcastle, officers of the Elswick Battery of the 1st Northumberland Volunteer Artillery, who served in South Africa, first met for the purposes of reunion in 1919 and were still meeting in 1936, their activities often merging with the Territorial Artillery unit at Barrack Road.[90] Retired Territorial officers (former Volunteers) also ran an informal '3rd Lanarkshire Volunteers Association' the news of whose meetings can be regularly found in the columns of the *Daily Record*. They maintained close links with their successors, the 7th Cameronians, but were separate from them.

In total, therefore, it is possible to point to upward of 32 and 26 service-based associations operating in Glasgow and Newcastle respectively. But it is incredibly difficult to speak about the membership levels of this genus of association as a whole. Niall Barr relied on affiliation fees to glean an idea of numbers in the British Legion.[91] Such overarching records do not exist for diverse associations, without centralised administration, that left little archival trace. Even for those branches tied to a regimental executive, it is impossible to unpick subscription returns from that of other branches when it is listed in annual reports, although at least branch secretaries had the impetus to occasionally publish returns in news entries. We are reliant on the whims of branch

[87] *NDJ*, 9/11/1925, p.9.
[88] *NDJ,* 1/6/1920, p.4; *NJ*, 7/3/1930, p.5.
[89] *NDJ*, 26/4/1923, p.5.
[90] *The Gunner*, November 1936, p.85.
[91] Barr, *The Lion and the Poppy*, p.58.

secretaries, editors and journalists for sporadic references to the numbers of their societies in regimental journals or newspaper reports.

This evidence, though scanty, points to a lively membership which, taken together, must be taken seriously in the study of veteran affiliation. In Glasgow, the figures for regimental associational membership were impressive. Glasgow's affiliated unit, the Highland Light Infantry, consistently reported high membership figures and a keen, involved community. In 1926 the HLIC association's noted club membership at over 500, which implied a branch membership far higher, although it is difficult to tell how many were serving personnel.[92] The service battalions of the regiment also did well. The 15th HLI (Tramways) Battalion old comrades association, drawn largely from the workforce of Tramways, totalled 401 members at the start of 1926, an increase of 73 on the year before; in 1933, 283 members would turn out for the unveiling of their war memorial, when there were over 600 on the members roll.[93] About 150 members of the 17th HLI association sat down to the annual dinner in 1924, which is suggestive of a higher total membership.[94] The 6th HLI ex-members club, a Territorial OCA, generated 200 members on its foundation in 1935.[95]

Other associations, not formally connected to the city, achieved some considerable success. The Seaforths, for instance, returned just over 360 members at the end of 1926.[96] This had fallen to 270 by the end of 1932, but rose again to 307 by the end of the decade.[97] The RE Branch, established in the later part of the Twenties, recorded a rise in membership from *c*.150 in 1927 to 247 in 1928.[98] Membership also accrued over time, as members left and others joined. The QOCHA, who published information in its journal each quarter, recorded 866

[92] *HLIC*, July 1926, p.128. You had to be a branch member to join the club.
[93] *HLIC*, April 1926, p.80. Chalmers, *History of the Fifteenth Battalion*, p. 89.
[94] *Glasgow Herald*, 24/11/1924, p.9.
[95] *HLIC*, November 1935, p.103.
[96] See *Cabar Faidh*, May 1926, Appendix. List of Members (Glasgow Branch).
[97] *Cabar Faidh*, December 1938, p.35.
[98] *The Sapper*, December 1928. Association News, Glasgow Branch.

veteran members between 1920 and 1939.[99] In 1927, the Scots Guards Association celebrated 852 members joining since foundation in 1910.[100]

In Newcastle, where the majority of associations were not linked to regimental infrastructure, figures are harder to determine. The Old Coldstreamers' Association had started with a membership of 45 in 1922, but this had risen to 356 by 1939.[101] Newcastle's branch of the RE OCA was nearly 400 strong by the end of 1925, although it had fallen to 146 by 1932.[102] The DLI journal never published membership figures for its association, but it did report that 400 members and friends of the DLI Association (Newcastle & Gateshead branch) visited the regiment's 'At Home' in 1937.[103] The RNDA branch mustered 150 for dinner in 1931.[104] The *Newcastle Daily Journal* recorded around 300 men gathering for the inaugural meeting of the Northumberland Fusiliers' Old Comrades Association in 1928. [105] The 18th Northumberland Fusiliers had a membership of 422 in 1920, two years after its foundation .[106] The branch of the Old Contemptibles stood at over 200 in July 1933.[107] It is impossible to show the fortunes of branch life over 20 years in much detail.

This thesis has not set out to intervene in the history of the British veterans movement, but some comparison to the membership levels of the British Legion is certainly warranted. Glasgow did not present an arena of vitality in an

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[99] Membership rolls published in *79th News* 1920–1939 as part of Glasgow branch news. The actual number of members was much higher than this, as it did not include men whose career with the colours had recently finished. These became a relatively rich source of manpower in 1929 after Major H.C.Methuen inaugurated the 'Serving Members Scheme', which linked new reservists with branch representatives. See *79th News,* July 1929, p. 29; January 1934, p.65.
[100] BMS 20, p.64. *Glasgow Herald*, 12/12/1927.
[101] *Evening Chronicle*, 22/05/1939, p.11.
[102] *Sapper* Jan 1926, p.261; *Newcastle Journal* (hereafter *NJ),* 8/11/32, p.6.
[103] *RJDLI*, October 1937. Association News.
[104] *NJ,* 9/11/1931, p.7.
[105] *StGG,* 5/12/1928 p.255.
[106] John Shakespeare, *Historical Records 18th (Service) battalion, Northumberland Fusiliers* (Newcastle: Chamber of Commerce, 1920), p.187.
[107] *The Old Contemptible*, July 1933, p.21.

otherwise lethargic national context.[108] The *British Legion Scottish Journal* and its successor, *Pro Patria*, detail that Glasgow hosted nine branches of this association by 1930.[109] The annual report of that year recorded that, across Scotland, only a few branches could boast membership levels of 200 and Paisley, not Glasgow, led the way in this respect. With branch news omitted from the journal after that year, there is little to counter the assertion of the chairman of Glasgow's Central branch that membership is 'not what it should be in a city like Glasgow'.[110] Newcastle's only branch did better but hardly boomed: the city's delegate estimated some 650 members within the city at the Legion's conference in 1924.[111] If these numbers followed the pattern of growth experienced by the North-East Area, then these numbers probably rose, potentially even doubling by 1938.[112]It is equally possible that, within this urban context, which tended to be less promising for Legion branches, it did not. Even so, Barr estimates that the Legion manifested between 4 and 5% of the veteran population in the area, making it the second worst recruitment area in the United Kingdom, discounting Ireland.[113]

Service-based associations appear to be mapped onto areas that were notoriously poor recruitment areas for the Legion, which is suggestive. That this genus of association might be sapping Legion strength is also hinted at by the observations of one member of the Royal Artillery Association Executive Committee, who noted the greater availability of Artillery OCA's in the north, where men 'preferred' them to the British Legion.[114]One could posit that, rather than just inhibiting veterans association, northern and Scottish society, and its links with the armed forces, was also pushing it in a different direction: perhaps

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[108] Niall Barr has estimated a membership rate as low as 2% of total veteran population in Scotland. See Barr, 'The Most Happy and Cordial Relations Continue to Exist': The Scottish Ex-Service Movement in the Inter-War Years', in *War & Society*, 29 (2010), pp.47–70.

[109] Branch locations taken from *Pro Patria* 1929 and 1930 editions. After that year, the journal ceases to publish branch news.

[110] *Pro Patria,* March 1930, p.13. *British Legion Scottish Journal*, December 1925, p.12.

[111] Barr, *Lion and the Poppy*, p.63.

[112] Ibid., Table 5: British Legion Membership, 1922–1939, pp.58–9.

[113] Ibid., Table 6: Percentage Membership of the British Legion in Each Area, 1922–1935.

[114] RAA. Royal Artillery Association. Executive Committee Minutes. Meeting dated 21/2/1938.

the Legion was not military *enough* for some veterans.[115] Certainly, the major difference between the Legion and those described in this chapter came down to service identity, which was specific, unlike the umbrella style of the national organisation. The Great War's distinct reconfiguration of the local relationship to the military obviously mattered in a way that it did not to the organisation of the Legion. It is noticeable that the patterns of regimental affiliation closely mirrored wartime practices of Command-Level recruitment in Glasgow. It is also striking that Newcastle, which raised far more service battalions during the war, also produced far more in terms of this type of association. The living administration of military structures, highly localised, also injected associations with energy and resource. But there were obviously other factors at play.

Niall Barr has also suggested that the Legion, as a predominately working-class association, may have suffered in areas with a strongly politicised labour force, which eschewed its patriotic adherence to social order.[116] As well as addressing how the legacy of the Great War's recruitment practices played themselves out through service-based associations, therefore, we must also examine social constituency if we are to understand the differences between these two types of association. Social constituency of branch committees and office holders, as far as they are possible to ascertain, have been examined. Additionally, we have the information from the QOCH membership rolls: 866 members of the QOCHA, listed by name, address, and battalion affiliation, from 1920 to 1939. This has been mined for members' war service through analysis of Service Records (WO363), Pension Records (WO364), and Medals Index Cards

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[115] Barr refers to 'strong connections' between the Legion and military identity, but suggests that, whilst some might have found meaning in this, others may have been deterred by this generalist brand of military symbolism. Barr, *Lion and the Poppy,* p.66.

[116] For the social dynamics of the Legion see Barr, *Lion and the Poppy,* p. 109. For Barr's interpretation of the unique Scottish factors dissuading veterans from joining the Legion see Barr, 'The Scottish Ex-Service Movement', p.55. Leadership, however, has been associated with the middle class. Ross McKibbin sees in the Legion another 'secondary agent of Toryism': McKibbin, *Parties and People: England 1914-1951* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p.94.
There are no detailed studies of Legion membership, however. Ross McKibbin, for instance, considers the association as another example of the fusion of conservative political values within middle-class society.

created by the Army Medal Office and published by internet service providers. In addition, Glasgow editions of *Kelly's Directory* were employed to identify contemporary occupational data.

Both cities offered a promising membership base, although it is impossible to quantify the ex-service population in either city exactly. For the numbers of Great War veterans, at least for the start of the period, we can consult the *Return of Parliamentary and Local Government Electors*. Printed on 18 November 1918, this was compiled for the purposes of the so-called 'Khaki Election' the next month, in which all male military and naval personnel over 18, including those overseas, were able to vote. Servicemen had to be registered within their residential district. The *Return* relied on the information produced by the Registration Officers 'of the several parliamentary boroughs and counties', delivered via the Local Government Board.[117] The report listed voters in two categories: as parliamentary voters, and as naval and military voters. We thus have a statistical account of the numbers of men who, although registered to vote in their residential district, were serving at the time of the Armistice. This recorded 23,041 military or naval voters in Newcastle and 102,739 in Glasgow, roughly 28% and 31% of male voters respectively.

These figures obviously underestimate the veteran populations, even in the immediate aftermath of demobilisation. Lack of registration, bureaucratic inefficiencies, and the populations of veterans already discharged in November 1918 due to illness or injury must hide substantial figures in both cases. Men who joined early in the war only to be discharged to service the war machine in other ways must have been particularly significant in these two industrial cities. Given their factories and shipyards, both cities were probably lower contributors to the Forces than their high population warranted, but participation was still impressive for cities whose civilian populations were so important to the war

[117] *Return showing, with regard to each Parliamentary Constituency in the United Kingdom the Numbers of Parliamentary and Local Government Electors on the First Register compiled under the Representation of the People Act, 1918*. Ordered by the House of Commons, to be printed, 18 Nov 1918. Kind thanks to Dr Stuart Hallifax.

effort: Manchester has slightly higher levels (at 35%), Sheffield was somewhat lower (22%). Veteran population must have been in flux, with powerful forces pushing veterans out of each city and attracting others to them: unemployment, internal migration and emigration (particularly in Scotland) must have seen to that.[118] It is possible in Scotland that the differences between union membership and local government housing meant that the veterans of Scottish labour tended to circulate within the country, rather than move south.[119] If veterans moved out of each city, they were probably more likely than not to be replaced by men who had journeyed the same recruitment channels, and who also could find a branch to reflect his wartime experience.

Whether it was the Great War veterans, or those who preceded them, who formed the basis of regimental association branch-level membership can be interpolated in two ways through membership rolls. From 1925, the QOCH provided battalion affiliation of members, which reveals whether their service was in a regular, territorial or service battalion. The resulting data from 529 members reveals a distinct bias towards the regulars, with combined service battalion membership reaching up to two-thirds of these levels. Of course, the 'regular' in this case was not necessarily the pre-war professional; civilians could well have chosen to serve, or been placed, in a regular QOCH battalion. Another way of looking at the issue is to consider the records of war service of individual members, of which it is possible to identify 232 men with Service or Pension Records (77 men), or an entry in the Medal Card index rolls.[120] Together, these cannot uncover the proportion of men who saw service in the Great War – common names must prevent the identification of many individuals – but as these records can help us identify pre-war civilians amongst the professionals it does present some useful information.

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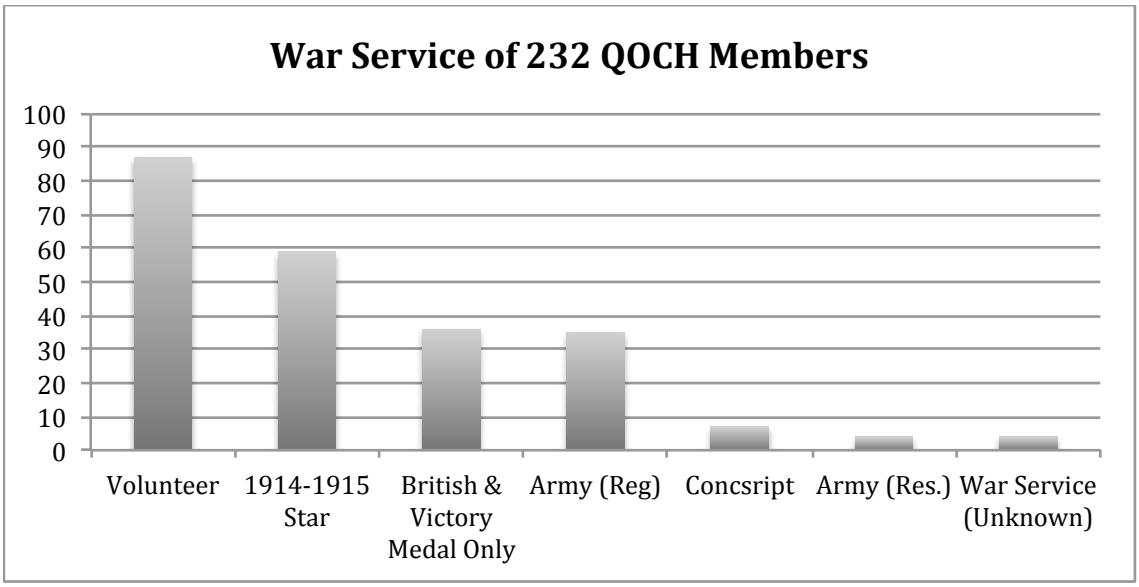
[118] William Ferguson, *Scotland: 1689 to the Present* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1978), p.383.
[119] Glynn and Booth, *Modern* Britain, pp.92–3.
[120] That this was a success rate lower than that suggested by the TNA and found by Richard Grayson is due to the relative complexity of the research task in finding specific individuals, and the lack of uniformity of the membership rolls, which sometimes offered full names and sometimes initials only.

As the data shows in Figure 12, the men of 1914, those who entered the war before the war's meaning was complicated by the prolonged, attritional, campaign and loss of life, seem to be the ones more likely to associate through their military service and integrate it within their lives. Those who had been civilians at the war's outbreak significantly outnumber those who were professional soldiers.[121] The two categories relating to medal card categories (1914–15 stars, the Victory & British Medals) have been collated for the following reasons: it is impossible to read the time of enlistment or status of the individual definitively from the medal card. Those qualifying for the 1914–15 Star certainly entered the war in the voluntary phase, but this applied to pre-war Regulars. Even those recorded in service battalions during this period were not necessarily civilians, although it is more likely that they were. Moreover, the information recorded on the medal cards of service battalion members suggest it was specifically those who rode the earliest volunteer wave formed the core of membership. There are 45 medal card entries identified for men of the 5th battalion; 26 of these, as shown by the 'date of entry into the war' recorded, landed in France with the battalion on 10 May 1915. Numbers are smaller for the other battalions but the trend is even more pronounced: out of 17 identified medal index cards from the members of the 7th, 11 arrived in Boulogne with the battalion on 9 July 1915.

If the Great War's early volunteer figures are, therefore, probably much higher, it is possible to suggest that the rate of former conscripts was also higher, from the numbers who only qualified for the British and Victory Medal, a good deal of volunteers would also have been included in this set. That the

[121] Former and current military service was detailed on attestation forms (Service Records). In a very few cases, we can infer this status through the dates on medal cards: those belonging to Regular battalions who served later in the war were probably formerly civilians. Equally, men whose medal cards detailed an early entry into the war during the BEF phase have been termed 'professionals'.



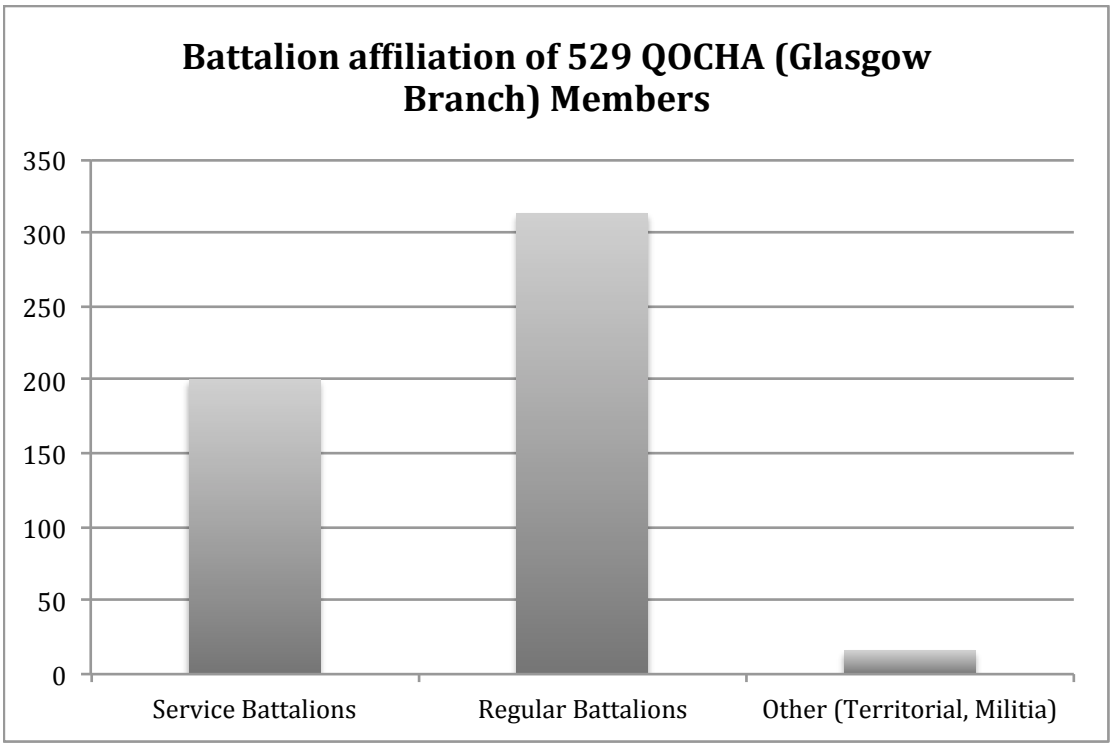


Figure 12 War Service QOCHA (Glasgow branch).

Service Records reveal a 10% rate of former population suggests that any such numbers would have been small: it is possible that there is an anomaly within war records themselves, but it is not a bias found by Richard Grayson in his exhaustive study of Belfast's serving men. We would need comparative data from others, where it could be found, but it is possible that these associations did perpetuate and convey the *Augusterlebnis* – the 'Spirit of 1914' – in their own way. It is also possible that committees, consisting of officers connected with this earliest phase, like Lieut-Col Norman Macleod, were more likely to retain its bureaucracy: roll calls of original battalions, which then supplied the means to formulate recruitment strategies.

Drawing from research of a wider number of organisations, it is possible to see that wartime relationships, generated through military hierarchy, also shaped the character of committee membership. We can take the Tyneside Irish OCA as an example. The President of the Association, Lieut-Col Joseph M Prior, former commanding officer of the 1st battalion, ran a successful haulage firm in Sunderland. Its secretary, Richard John Erett ('Jack'), and its treasurer, had both been sergeants in the original muster of 1914, although both had risen to Captains in the Labour Corps by the end of the war. Self-educated, motivated and energetic, Erett was exactly the kind of NCO who was invaluable to officers during the war. His former company commander, Captain Arnold, described him thus:

> I was blessed with a very good sergeant major, Jack Erett, from whom I learned more than I ever could repay….He was a man who had educated himself far above the standard of the rank and file. After his first Army service he had drifted into mining, but had always kept himself in a class distinct from his fellows. Certainly as things stood in the new armies he made an ideal sergeant major, keen, intelligent, even tempered and strictly temperate. I liked him from the beginning and we worked together to make the company as good as it could be.[122]

[122] Captain C Arnold quoted in John Sheen, *Tyneside Irish*, p.9.

In the case of the QOCHA, whose branch-level administration was described in particular detail within the pages of the *79th News*, it was former wartime hierarchies, and sustained bonds of friendship, which were the channels that drew most of its members into the association. Like Territorial officers, the QOCHA branch consistently encouraged men to recruit their 'chums' who had served in the regiment. At the end of 1930, the branch published the names of those who had been most influential in gaining new members that quarter. The four most successful of these were committee members (including two former officers and one ex-sergeant) who together had secured 25 members for the branch.[123] Of course, committee members were likely to approach the task of manpower with more zeal than others, but it is equally possible that their leadership during the war provided advantages when it came to the knowledge of local men, and gave their missives more clout.

The forces of Glasgow's transport infrastructure helped to cement these bonds. Glasgow's 866 QOCHA members included 244 who lived beyond the city's limits and who could pursue an active membership due to the city's place as a transport hub. 27% of this section came from within a 10-mile radius, with another 67% residing in districts within a 25-mile radius. There are clear membership clusters along the Helensburgh line (Greenock, Port Glasgow, Paisley, Renfrew, Dalmuir, Clydebank), the Perth line (Stirling, Bridge of Allan, Bonnybridge, Dunblane) and the Edinburgh line (Kirkintilloch, Kilsyth, Lenzie), which suggests that transport facilitated participation. Hidden behind these clusters, however, are ties of friendship and service that are much harder to uncover.

These currents shaped the social constituency of the group, but in ways that are difficult to pinpoint. The small QOCHA membership occupational sample points to relationship with public administration, particularly the police, with six of its members employed in the police. (A similar affiliation can be seen at

[123] *79th News*, January 1931, p.65.

committee level within both the Scots Guards and the Seaforth Highlanders branches – hardly surprising considering the well-known links between the armed forces and police.) Analysis of occupations of members is tentative: until the release of the census, details can be drawn from Service Records (68) and those identified through *Kelly's Directory* (22). Admittedly this is a small sample, which relies heavily on data from 1914–18. It does, however, provide a way of making some observations that could be modified in the light of future research.

Considering the bias towards the early volunteer we might expect middle-class membership to dominate the association if the anecdotal reports of their recruiting base are true. The association, however, seems to have captured a broad social spectrum. Working-class representation, although far lower than Glasgow's population warranted, was roughly equal to professional membership. The lower middle class, largely represented by clerks and small retailers, were also represented in roughly the same proportion. Glasgow was not recreated in micro in this old comrades' association, its working classes did not dominate as they should have done, but the city's veterans population had created an organisation with a varied social base, in which they could realise 'comradeship' as a universal, inter-class, military virtue.

QOCHA (Glasgow Branch) Occupations: Sample of 90 Members	
Professional Occupations (Excluding Clerical Staff)	17
Persons Employed in Public Administration & Defence	16
Clerks & Draughtsmen	12
Commercial, Finance & Insurance Occupations	9
Other & Undefined Workers	8
Warehousemen, Storekeepers and Packers	5
Metal Workers	4
Persons Employed in Transport and Communication	4
Workers in Wood and Furniture	4
Mining & Quarrying Occupations	3
Builders of Ships and Boats	2
Persons employed in Entertainment and Sport	1
Builders, Bricklayers, Stone & Slate Workers	1
Makers of and Workers in Paper; Printers, Bookbinders, Photographers	1
Persons Engaged in Personal Service	1
Unidentified (Skilled)	1
Workers in Precious Metals and Electro Plate	1

Figure 13 QOCHA (Glasgow branch) Occupations

Part II

Urban Spaces

Inter-war Glasgow and Newcastle were undergoing important changes that were to influence the conduct of civic–military relations during this time. On the one hand, these were the years of depression, of high unemployment, social fracture and threat to social order, which is a well-known part of the history of each region. On the other hand, each city witnessed, alongside the stagnation of heavy industry, vibrant areas of growth, particularly in retail and hospitality sectors. The depression years presented challenges to civic government, which a new generation of largely middle-class politicians met with vigour, creativity and a renewed emphasis on civic identity and community. These currents would combine to shape civic–military relations in several important ways.

Chapter 3

Town Halls and City Chambers: Civic–Military Relations

One afternoon in October 1938 Glasgow's first Labour Lord Provost, Sir John Stewart, whose term was drawing to a close, presided over a ceremony to mark his three years in office. Before an audience of prominent citizens, and former Lord Provosts, Stewart accepted two gifts on behalf of the city: a bronze effigy, and a portrait of himself, rendered in oils by artist David D Ewart. These were destined for the committee room of the City Chambers, where other portraits of the City Fathers hung as testaments to civic legacy, power and patriarchy. Referencing these, Stewart reflected on the progressive changes in the social constituency of the office, visible in the long line of images. First, the landed interest, then the 'merchant prince' whose tobacco wealth had laid the foundations of industrial growth in the 19th century. After them came the 'modern business man' of the 20th century whose wealth came from commerce and hard graft. "I am," added Sir John, "the first Proletarian Provost." The hushed chamber erupted into laughter.

The irony behind his words, one recognised by the audience response, was that Stewart was far from 'Proletarian' in his image or conduct of office. His portrait showed a man in a smartly tailored business suit, albeit one with some degree of ceremonial occasion: his chain of office and ermine robes hung on the back of his chair. Stewart, a brush manufacturer, was the epitome of the 'modern

businessman'. Yet the play on middle-class anxieties was an obvious one. Ernest Greenhill, the city's Treasurer, related how: 'Three years ago…there were certain timid souls in Glasgow who wondered what would happen when so revolutionary change as the election of a Socialist Lord Provost took place.' Jean Mann, one of Labour's most prominent councillors, couched his achievements in language usually voiced by the Right. Stewart, she said, had united Glasgow on 'prosperity and good government'.[1]

This episode highlights key features in inter-war politics in Glasgow and Newcastle. National party divisions were increasingly played out in the municipality, nation-wide: the rise of the left as a force in municipal politics created a two-party system of Labour versus a coalition of anti-socialist forces that were largely conservative in character. In both cities, although to a greater degree in Glasgow, Labour would decide the course of urban life, and influence notions of civic identity, to an unprecedented degree. The episode also demonstrates the challenges faced by Labour as they adapted their politics to a civic culture (and vice-versa) that had been historically constructed by Liberal or Conservative men. This was not the time for radical revisionism in the conduct of civic office or government, particularly in years of depression when order was a concern for much of the Left as well as the Right.

These political configurations and developments mattered to military communities because they plotted the course of civic–military relations. They did so, however, through very different channels that converged to constitute a relationship between the civic and the military. The civic–military relationship was the sum of these parts: it had little institutional basis, but it had a very real existence that was the result of continual reworking and remaking on the part of the corporation and the military. Most of this relationship revolved around the allocation of space. Volunteer units occasionally demanded public spaces for training, but the military was like any other public group or association looking

[1] *GH*, 18/10/1938, p.4.

for sanction and patronage: it wanted recognition. In turn, the military could find itself brought into civic space as participants in the municipality's wider cultural life, which brought status.

In order to understand the relationship, therefore, we have to appreciate the political changes of these years, which are outlined in section 1 of this chapter. But we also have to appreciate both the governmental systems that controlled urban space, and the civic ideologies that shaped it, in the inter-war years. These aspects are approached from different perspectives in the second and third sections: the second looks at the construction of spaces where civic and military could meet; the third examines the considerable role and influence of civic leadership in shaping civic identity and determining civic–military relations. These sections will argue that these currents combined to create a generally favourable period for military units. The discussion is confined to the period 1919–35. These years witnessed the beginnings of re-mobilisation for another war, as well the height of Labour ascendancy, and the full story of Labour's impact on notions of civic identity must be placed in that context.

Municipal Elections and Changes in Council Politics, c.1919–35

Like most electors across the UK, Glasgow and Newcastle's post-war voters encountered candidate lists in municipal elections that recalled national political divisions.[2] In Newcastle, the Labour Party developed as a political force at the end of the 19th century, organising both its Trade Union and Trades Council nominees through a Labour Representation Committee from 1901. Its first Labour candidate was elected next year.[3] This was David Adams, a Newcastle-educated engineer who would be the party's nominal head in the inter-war years. After 1918, Labour faced an anti-socialist 'Business Group', which fielded candidates who embodied a commercial and conservative world-view.[4] This had

[2] Sam Davies and Bob Morley, *County Borough Elections in England and Wales, 1919–1938: A Comparative Analysis Volume 1 Barnsley – Bournemouth* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 1999), pp.2–3.
[3] David Green, *Power and Party in an English City: an account of single-party rule* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1981), pp.17-19.
[4] *NDJ*, 3/11/1919, p.7.

expanded its appeal to become the 'Moderates' by the end of the 1920s, but it could not stay Labour's gradual growth. The party had entered the post-war council with 19 seats in 1919. In the 1930 election the party amassed 29 out of 57 seats, counting the majority of councillors, but not dominating the council. As in other localities, the Aldermanic system (an additional 19 seats awarded to nominated councillors, who then held office for 6 years) remained a barrier to Labour advance.[5]It would take time before Labour's victories could translate into representation on the Aldermanic bench. A token appointment (Alexander Wilkie, a Trade Unionist more associated with Scotland) represented the only Labour candidate until the nomination of David Adams in 1928. It did not help that their fortunes would decline for a few years after 1931, largely reflecting a national trend in municipality voting against the second Labour government, and would not be revived until 1934's election.[6]

In Glasgow, Labour became a far more successful and dynamic force, blazing into local politics through important victories in 1918 and 1922.[7] For 14 out of 20 years of local elections of this period, however, the council remained dominated by anti-socialist forces that were increasingly Unionist in character.[8] This party called itself 'Moderate' and organised through the 'Good Government League' until 1933, when massive socialist victories and the intervention of the Scottish Protestant League caused its voting base, and organisation, to disintegrate.[9] Before that, even with substantial progress, Labour found it hard to influence politics decisively. After victories in 1931 there were only six

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[5] Sam Davies, *Liverpool Labour: social and political influences on the development of the Labour Party in Liverpool 1930-1939* (Keele: Keele University Press, 1996). pp.110–113.

[6] Sam Davies and Bob Morley, *County Borough Elections in England and Wales, 1919–1938: A Comparative Analysis. Vol. 2* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), p.19.

[7] Smyth, *Labour in Glasgow: Socialism, Suffrage, Sectarianism* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), p.5.

[8] Maver (*Glasgow,* p.235) suggested this was due to the difference between the national and municipal franchise. Exclusions in the latter did bias municipal elections against the working class (as in Liverpool – see Davies, pp.112-13). That these remained the same throughout makes it hard to account for Labour ascendancy in 1933 on that basis alone.

[9] BMS 17, p. 32. *GH* 3/11/1922. Smyth, *Labour in Glasgow* pp.101–6, pp.192–8. Maver, *Glasgow*, pp.234–41.

members on the Magistrate bench (as compared to 14 Moderates). That year, when three candidates of that party were promoted to vacant convenorships (including Housing), Labour's group in the council conducted an 'orderly protest' against what it termed as deliberate political exclusion.[10] The next year, all such positions were, once again, in the hands of the Moderates.[11]

Labour's electoral fortunes improved, partly due to the Scottish Protestant League, which fed off anti-Catholic and anti-Irish prejudices incited by Section 18 of the Education (Scotland) Act 1918, and its brief emergence as a political force. This would survive only three years, but it was enough to split the Moderate vote in some important wards, preparing the ground for the impressive 15-seat Labour gain in 1933.[12] But the SPL's contribution combined with Moderate weakness. In 1932, the party, supposedly the guardian of municipal economy, announced significant deficits in Glasgow's finances – a fact that was blamed for the sting in the municipal elections by the press.[13] In the early part of 1933, this still-majority Moderate council followed with a rise in the rates – hardly playing to its political audience. Labour strength, too, should not be denied: it had become synonymous with issues of housing and distress, due to the energies of committed councillors such as Jean Roberts;[14] Patrick Dollan's organisational talents ameliorated somewhat the break with the ILP in 1932. All this contributed to great Labour influence after 1933. After the November elections, Labour occupied 14 out of 20 seats on the Magistrates Bench.[15] Its political capital increased with further victories in 1934 and 1935. By that year, it had a 16-seat majority over the Moderate Party.

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[10] BMS 30, p.112. *GH*, 7/11/1931.
[11] BMS 31, p.117. *GH*, 4/11/1932.
[12] Smyth and Gallagher credits the SPL with Moderate decline see: Smyth, *Labour in Glasgow*, pp.194–8. Tom Gallagher, *Glasgow: the uneasy peace: religious tension in modern Scotland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), pp.152–4.
[13] BMS 31, p 120. *Evening News*, 7/11/1932.
[14] Ian McLean, *The Legend of Red Clydeside* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1983), pp.165–73; Smyth, *Labour in Glasgow*, p.114.
[15] BMS 33, p.6. *GH* 10/11/1933.

Social factors, however, influenced councils as well as political influences; and Labour's successes, even in Glasgow, made less of an impact as might be supposed if we examine occupational constituency. As the data from the *Town Council Lists* [Figure 14] demonstrates, the councils formed after the war did mark a significant break with the past with a massively increased working-class set of skilled occupations and Trade Union representation. Yet in both Glasgow and Newcastle, once established, the numbers of these did not dramatically rise, even in Glasgow's context of massively increasing Labour success. In Glasgow, these occupational groups actually dwindled slightly from their peaks in 1919 and the early part of the Twenties. The social constituency of Labour councillors became markedly more middle class in the period 1931–40, constituting 41.5% its membership, rather than 32.9%.[16]Although Gordon found that levels of working-class membership stayed roughly level (15%) throughout the inter-war period, in terms of overall council constituency, these occupational groups declined.[17] Retailers remained a significant section of the council. The professional element in this city, itself a new force within council politics, remained reasonably steady, at about one-sixth of representation throughout the inter-war period. If anything, Labour contributed significantly to the increase of commercial occupations: the 20 insurance and other agents on the council by the end of the Thirties can largely be attributed to the party.

In Newcastle, we have far less reliable occupational data for councillors: *Ward's Directory* was less likely to detail working-class occupations than those of the middle class [Figure 15]. The disappearance of the 'Gentleman' from council membership was not accompanied by other dramatic changes. The numbers of what we might classify as 'proletarian' occupations did rise, as against Glasgow where they fell, but electoral failures towards the end of the

[16] J C Gordon identified the other significant section as 'intermediate' (non-manual, self-employed): 52.1% before 1931 and 43.1% in 1931-40. Maclean, *The Legend of Red Clydeside*, p.222.
[17] Ibid., p.221.This was not markedly different from the social constituency of the Labour Group in the Council during the days of Red Clydeside, but with increased representation it would have more of an impact on total council membership.

Occupation	1900	1919	1925	1930	1935	1938
Professional	**7**	**21**	**21**	**17**	**20**	**18**
Commercial	**40**	**47**	**46**	**48**	**56**	**56**
Retail	25	33	29	26	19	19
Commercial Dealers	9	1	6	3	5	5
Finance				1		1
Insurance Brokers	1		1			
Insurance Agents		5	3	7	13	12
Other Agents		5	5	6	7	8
Clerks		1	1		3	2
Directors					2	3
Secretaries				2	2	2
Shipping	4	2	1	1	1	1
Other Commercial	1				4	3
Industry	**18**	**12**	14	**14**	**6**	**7**
Shipbuilding	2	1				
Iron & Steel	2					
Building Contractors			2	3	2	3
Manufacturing	14	11	12	11	4	4
Skilled Occupations	**5**	**12**	**13**	**10**	**6**	**11**
Trade Union Positions	**1**	**12**	**7**	**7**	**8**	**5**
Women		**4**	**5**	**5**	**7**	**7**
No Occupation Given	**3**	**4**	**5**	**5**	**7**	**6**
Retired				**2**	**2**	**2**
Other	**1**	**1**	**1**	**4**	**2**	**2**
Totals	75	111	111	111	114	114

Figure 14 Occupations of Glasgow's Councillors 1900-38

(GCA Glasgow's *Town Council Lists*)

Occupation	1900	1919	1925	1930	1935	1938
Professional	8	9	8	7	9	11
Commercial	45	38	40	35		
Retail	25	24	20	20	16	19
Commercial dealers	5	3	4	2	1	3
Shipowners	5	5	7	7	4	5
Shipbrokers			1	1	1	
Agents (various)	3		3	2	5	4
Commercial (misc)	6	5	3	1	4	4
Secretaries		1	2	2	1	1
Clerks					2	1
Manufacturing	2	6	2	2	1	1
Gentlemen	5	4				
Industrialist					1	1
Building Contractor	1	3	2	4	4	4
Trade Union Officials		2	3	2	4	3
Skilled Occupations		8	10	13	12	8
Women		1	1	5	5	5
Other			2	3	1	1
Unknown	6	5	8	7	7	7
Totals	65	74	76	78	78	78

Figure 15 Occupations Newcastle's Councillors, 1900-38.

(Taken from *Wards Directory of Newcastle*)

Thirties probably explain their decline. The city council remained largely middle class. Like Glasgow, the retail element remained important throughout the period, if not as substantial as it had appeared at the turn of the century or the Twenties. The professional element, smaller but proportionally of greater significance within fewer council seats, became slightly more pronounced. Shipowners and construction magnates also made appearances.

That both Newcastle's and Glasgow's councils were sustained largely by a mix of commercial, retail and professional representation testifies to the economic vitality of some sectors, even in the depression years. No councillor who struggled in his business could voluntarily commit himself to public matters, which were unpaid. Neither the retail nor any other occupational element were any less public-minded, or took civic matters less seriously, than their 19th-century forebears, whose withdrawal from civic matters in the 1870s has been seen as so critical.[18] Indeed, as in other 'shopocracy' councils, many wielded as much power and prestige as the industrialist.[19] William Adams Allan, who had been manager for Bainbridges for 40 years in 1928, retained his seat on Newcastle's council throughout the Twenties. A rival – Frederick Fenwick – became a councillor in the Thirties. The famous names of Hugh Fraser (House of Fraser), Kenneth Muir Simpson (Muir Simpson's Ltd) and Alan Ogg (Copland & Lye) can be seen on Glasgow's lists.

Even those without massive concerns were hardly parochial shopkeepers lacking municipal, national or international vision.[20] Newcastle councillor, W V Longfield, a fruit merchant, was elected President of the National Federation of Fruit and Potato Trades Association in 1928 and headed a mission to North Africa

[18] Richard Trainor, 'The 'decline' of British Urban governance since 1850: A reassessment', pp.28-46.
[19] Barry Doyle, 'Rehabilitating the retailer: Shopkeepers in urban government 1900–1950' in Stefan Couperus, Christianne Smit, Dirk Jan Wolffram (eds.), *In Control of the City: Local elites and the dynamics of urban politics, 1800-1960*, (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), pp.41–52.
[20] Ibid.

to examine farming and transport practices.[21] Richard J Richardson, a painter and decorator, was elected President of the National Master Painters and Decorators Association of England and Wales in 1930.[22] On the other hand, some obviously wanted to use their public office to influence the economy of the city and region as far as possible, particularly independent retailers. In Glasgow, the relatively higher numbers of wine and spirit merchants might be due to the city's stricter licensing laws, which aggravated the trade during the inter-war years.[23]

Labour's members continued to demonstrate the same commitment to the importance of public office. The great majority of Newcastle's Labour group were, for instance, Justices of the Peace. If we consider length of service as an indicator of civic commitment within the body of the council, there is very little indication that the changing social or political constituency of the council led to a higher turnover of seats. Glasgow's published 'Town Council Lists', which detailed the period served by each councillor listed, allow us to compare the length of service of those in the council of 1938 with that of 1900. Nearly 20% of Glasgow's council were serving their fifth term or longer in 1938, 24% were serving their third or fourth term, whilst 34% were in their second term. This left some 22% on their first term. For 1900, the figures were 12%, 32% and 30%, with 26% on their first term.

Council politics decided matters of money and men with regard to the corporations they controlled: where they allocated finances and the conditions of service of their men were necessarily political issues. Here, the military was more likely to be disappointed as the political constituency of the council turned a brighter shade of red. Glasgow's corporation threw civic receptions for its Territorial Association twice in the early Twenties: one for the recruitment campaign of the Territorial Army in 1921, another for the retirement of its

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[21] *Proceedings of the Council of the City and County of Newcastle upon Tyne for 1928–1929* (herafter referenced as *Proceedings* followed by year) (Newcastle upon Tyne: J Dowling & Son, 1929), p.lvii.
[22] *Proceedings 1930–1931*, p.lxxi.
[23] James Nichols, 'Alcohol Licensing in Scotland: a historical overview' in *Addiction* 107 (2012), pp.1397–1403.

President and Chairman (Sir Robert Mackenzie) in 1923. Even in 1921, the motion to support the reception passed only 56 votes to 31, falling into both divisions over the sanction of the military as well as concerns over public spending. [24] Twelve years later, in a Labour-dominated council and with expenditure at the forefront of all political concern, these costly tokens of civic patronage would not have been mooted.

Military manpower, too, and the status of the corporation as employer concerned the council as a whole, which could cause political excitement and division. In February 1925, Scottish Command appealed to Glasgow's corporation for help in raising its Mechanical Transport units, reportedly on the advice of the Army Council, which was experimenting in encouraging the same civic–military cooperation as it had seen in war.[25]The corporation was to create a reserve mechanical transport company and a mechanical repair unit for the RASC – numbering some 550 men – from within the ranks of its workers, by bringing the scheme before particular workers. In May, with the approval of the finance committee, the motion was placed before the corporation. It passed by 30 votes to 25, a marginal victory that brought already tense political divisions to boiling point:

> Suddenly a fierce incident occurred. Facing the section of the Council from which most hands were being held up in favour of closing the debate, Mr Lee [26] shouted:- "You are simply afraid; you have sent thousands of men to their deaths." Almost immediately a group of members were seen around Mr Swan (Exchange), who had left his seat across the passage from Mr Lee and was leaning over the intervening bench in what seemed like an attitude threatening to Mr Lee….[27]

Politics worked in the favour of the military in this case, but it was the last victory so far as recruitment and manpower were concerned. Glasgow's

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[24] GCA. C1/3/64. Glasgow Corporation Minutes 1920–1. Magistrates Meeting 20/1/1921, p. 576, Corporation Meeting 17/2/1921, p.882.
[25] BMS 17, p.146. *GH*, 6/2/1925.
[26] Reverend Richard Lee was a Labour Councillor and Minister of Ross Street Unitarian Church in the East End of the City.
[27] BMS 18, p.11. *GH* 29/5/1925.

corporation would not sponsor any request to sanction paid, or even additional, holiday for its Territorial employees. This was, in fact, a Moderate ruling, forged in the austerity of 1922, when the council was failing to balance the corporation's budget in the wake of austerity and the post-war slump.[28] That Glasgow's TAA did not even attempt to agitate for a change in policy until 1938 probably demonstrates the strong Moderate political sympathies amongst its membership. Newcastle did not witness these open flashpoints of conflict between the military's needs and political ideologies. This was largely due to its political culture, which remained outwardly 'above politics' during these years (probably deterring political sponsorship of the issue), but also because, with one representative on the TAA, there was little political imperative. If military recruitment within the corporation did not become a political issue, it was largely because it was not raised at all: for the whole period, Territorial employees of the corporation took camp as part of their holiday, and there seemed little political will to challenge the status quo.[29]

The Construction of Civic–Military Spaces: Governance, Politics and Civic Identity, 1919–c.1935

Civic–military relations, however, were not simply thrashed out in council chambers: they were understood within, and through, the construction of specific urban spaces, which presented the backdrop to the dramaturgy of civic–military relations described in Part 3. In this, the civic–military relationship belonged to the wider context of what historians have termed 'Liberal governmentality': the ways that civic authorities fashioned space, not only to discipline and regulate behaviour but to produce the desired citizen.[30] Neither city's politics were Liberal, but these techniques of power were very much alive in the 1920s or 30s, although the political impulses that fed them had changed. In examining the

[28] BMS 38, p.25 *GH* 24/6/1938.
[29] TWA. MD.NC/266/9. Minutes of the Transport Committee 24/11/1936-29/12/1942, p.162.
[30] Andrew Barry, Thomas Osborne, Nikolas Rose (eds.) *Foucault and Political Reason: Liberalism, neo-liberalism and rationalities of governmentality* (London: UCL Press, 1992); Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the modern city* (London: Verso, 2003).

spaces in which civic–military relations were expressed, this research has not tried to encompass the totality of civic space or this effort. This section identifies only those civic spaces in which the military thrived. This does, however, tell us something about the forces shaping the inter-war city: the persistence of the liberal city, even if these intermingled with more progressive currents, and the importance of Imperialism in times of difficulty.[31]

The first area to examine is commemorative space: the refashioning of urban civic ceremonial space as a response to the Great War. This is a missing link in the nascent historiography of inter-war civic life. But, as Alex King originally argued nearly two decades ago, war memorials were 'composite' productions, as much to do with the identity of the makers as anything else.[32]What Stefan Goebel has called the 'grief school' of historians (those who follow David Cannadine and Jay Winter in viewing the hermetic, grieving elements as foremost in their construction) has come to dominate approaches to the war in much recent historiography: a reaction against earlier functionalist approaches that have largely been seen as inadequate, particularly in the British case.[33] Whilst studies, like Goebel's, that consciously seek to understand the common ground in these two approaches, may be the way forward to understand the cultural functions of war memorials fully, another pathway lies in the relaxation of disciplinary boundaries: with 'Commemoration' the end in itself, we miss its place within the broader context of urban power relations and identity.

Yet, the memorials, raised by civic groups for each city, built on and contributed to an established memorialising culture, visible on the streets, which communicated notions of civic identity. These ceremonial configurations had been established during the 19th-century development of the city, and reflected

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[31] Brad Beavan, *Visions of Empire: Patriotism, Popular Culture and the City, 1870–1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).

[32] Alex King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The symbolism and politics of remembrance* (Oxford: Berg, 1998), p.6.

[33] Stefan Goebel, *The Great War and Medieval Memory: War, Remembrance, and Medievalism in Britain and Germany after the war* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p.2.

the Liberal ideologies of the ruling classes.[34] Usually constructed in the early years of the war, when fears of social disorder were at a peak, it is impossible to remove them from the attempt to delimit and control a potentially threatening war experience and mobilise citizens around a positive celebration of civic effort and achievement.[35] It was during this context that urban ceremonial space was reconfigured – the first opportunity of such re-ordering since the 19th century. If they created a permanent legacy, their original intent could not be fixed in time and space.[36] But it would be hard to obliterate entirely, and decisions concerning location and scope did influence how these memorials were used in later years.

From the perspective of military units, it was important that the main civic and military projects to commemorate the war and its dead were completed by the mid-Twenties: a period of Moderate strength, and when the memory and meaning of war was far less subject to doubt and questioning in national public discourse and literature than in later times.[37] But it is also important to note that civic commemorative spaces were 'extra-conciliar': the war memorial committees, realised by civic groups, invited other elements in order to encompass notions of community. Councils might have rejected the decision of war memorial committees (they had to confirm the allocation of specific sites, for instance), but they did little to alter the commemorative design and intention authored by these outside bodies. There was enough political sympathy between the two to ease the process of construction.

Newcastle's city memorial, raised in 1923, was paid for by the "Shilling Fund" inaugurated the post-war Mayor and shipping magnate-philanthropist, Arthur Munro Sutherland. Its committee was fairly catholic, containing some

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[34] Paul Pickering and Alex Tyrell, 'Public memorial of reform: Commemoration and Contestation' in Pickering and Tyrell (eds.) *Contested Sites: Commemoration, Memorial and Popular Politics in Nineteenth Century Britain,* pp.12–13.

[35]Brad Beaven, 'Challenges to civic governance in post-war England: the Peace Day disturbances of 1919', *Urban History*, 33 (2006), pp.369–92.

[36] JM Roberts, 'Spatial governance and working class public sphere: the case of a Chartist demonstration', *Journal of Historical Sociology* 14 (2001), pp.308–36.

[37] Brian Bond, *The Unquiet Western Front: Britain's role in literature and history* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp.27–50.

working-class representation, as well as that of the city's economic and public life, although these dominated.[38] The deliberations of this group have not made the historical record, but the reasoning behind their choice of symbolism is not hard to unpick. The memorial made regimental affiliation central to the city's war memory: St George (patron saint of the Northumberland Fusiliers) stood in bronze, victorious on horseback, his sword raised high in the air. With the majority of city battalions raised under the Northumberland Fusiliers, it was probably considered an ecumenical choice, even if it discounted a significant degree of the city's service experience. It was also, of course, patriotic. Placed in the central point of Eldon Square on the northern rim of the city centre, one of Richard Grainger's most spectacular classical contributions to the city in 1831, it was integrated within the city's ceremonial heritage, but had none of its own: the Greys monument, a tribute to the Great Reform Act of 1832, constructed in 1838, was less than 100 yards down Blackett Street and was easily seen from the Square.[39]

The city received another civic monument, without any public enterprise behind it. This bronze memorial, a relief recalling the early volunteer 'rush to the colours' entitled 'The Response', was gifted by Sir George Renwick (another politician-–shipowner) to the corporation in 1922. This valorised narratives of early volunteerism in 1914 through its depiction of Winged Victory, blowing a trumpet, leading local men to war. The memorial owed its prominence to politics at the highest levels. A special sub committee of Alderman and Chairmen (all Moderates), headed by the Lord Mayor, placed the monument in the grounds of St Thomas' Church, near to where another Winged Victory was perched at the top of the South Africa memorial on the Haymarket. They carved out a space

[38] TWA.MD.NC/94/9. General Committees. War Memorial Special Committee Meeting 17/12/1919.

[39] Lynn F Pearson, *Northern City: An architectural history of Newcastle upon Tyne* (Newcastle: NCL, 1996), p.19.

around it to set the monument off well to the public and the traffic along Barras Bridge – the major route into the city.[40]

Glasgow's memorial committee, which steered the project from 1919 to the unveiling in 1924, was more sectional than Newcastle's, despite numbering over 200 people.[41] It was comprised of an elite that had governed the city's political and economic life for decades: it contained every living Lord Provost (taking leadership back to the 1890s) as well as holders of civic office past and present; it foregrounded industrial leaders (shipbuilders, steel manufacturers, railwaymen) and prominent medical professionals. It was entirely without serious Labour or working-class representation.[42] It is unsurprising, therefore, that the group preferred an ambitious monumental realisation (there was a small philanthropic element) placed within the city's premier civic site, George Square, already crammed with Glasgow's 19th-century idols. The resulting cenotaph, positioned directly opposite City Chambers on its western side, recorded the city's claims to national and Imperial importance, as evidenced through its war record. The granite obelisk towering from a sarcophagus, set in between two couchant lions, was emblazoned with Glasgow's motto ('Let Glasgow Flourish') and its coat of arms as well as the proud declaration that the: 'Total of His Majesty's Forces Engaged at Home and Abroad 8654435 / Of this Number the City of Glasgow Raised over 200,000.' It was a proud and austere assertion of Glasgow's record of service that would prove valuable to military communities.

If extra-conciliar elements formulated the military within city commemorative space, the timing of council politics eased the construction of other tokens of civic–military relations. The 1920-1 Parks Committees that evaluated the designs and the site plans for both the 7th HLI's and the Cameronians' regimental monuments were Moderate-dominated but with three

[40] TWAS. MD.NC/94/10 Special Sub Committee relative to Sir George Renwick's War Memorial 23 October 1922, p.417.
[41] GCA.G1/3/1. Lord Provost's Office. War Memorial Files. First meeting of the representatives asked to form a general committee, 26/5/1919.
[42] There was no Trade Union or other working-class representation, or any veterans groups. Labour's representation came from one MP.

notable socialist elements: James Welsh (chairman of the Labour Group in the Town Council), Patrick Dollan (former conscientious objector and journalist) and George Buchanan, then the vice chairman of Glasgow's Trades Council. The 7th HLI's Celtic cross (destined for its drilling ground on Glasgow Green) passed without comment.[43] The Cameronians' memorial (Figure 3 - an unapologetic vision of martial identity) did create division, although the language of the minutes obscures the issue. Buchanan put forward a motion not to sanction the memorial in March 1921 – he was voted down 5-19 against. Labour opposition then focused on disputing the proposed site of the memorial, outside Kelvingrove Museum and Art Gallery, one of the city's most prized public possessions. The committee eventually approved it in April: negotiations with the regiment moved the site to the western side of the museum, which reduced, slightly, its place in the sun.[44]

Newcastle's Town Moor and Parks Committee, with an even stronger conservative bent, faced the same considerations in the early Twenties. Conservative interests dominated, including Arthur Lambert, who had been an officer in the Fusiliers during the war, but there were two Labour members: William Taylor and William Locke. In general, the committee's interventions tended to the audacious in the celebration of civic effort and sacrifice: in 1924, it castigated Walker's plans for a cenotaph for being far too understated.[45] The application of the 6th battalion to erect a life-size bronze statue of St George on a pedestal (another unabashed monument to martial prowess) outside St

[43] GCA. Glasgow Corporation Minutes 1920-1. Parks Committee 24/12/1920, p.534
[44] Ibid. Parks Committee 6/4/21, p.177
[45] TWA.MD.NC/26/7. Town Moor & Parks Committee Minutes 10/7/1923, p.47.

Figure 16 Cameronians Memorial, Kelvingrove Park, c. August 1936.

Figure 17 Unveiling of the 6th battalion's memorial, 1924.

[NCL Local Studies Photo Collection Acc. 56057]

Thomas' Church [Figure 17], near to the South Africa and Renwick monuments, breezed through the committee the same year.[46]

Memorials did not guarantee civil-military relations for years to come. Yet notions of performance were embedded by decisions made during these foundational moments. The potential for high levels of troop participation around the memorial had concerned Glasgow's war memorial committee in the last planning stages. Two statues were relocated from the west end of the square to give the cenotaph enough space for ceremonials. Another application for the removal of an additional one, to allow for an increased number of troops for future Armistice Days, was turned down by the Town Moor and Parks for the expense and disruption. On the personal recommendation of the Lord Provost, Glasgow's memorial committee paid out £100 so that the Guard of Honour and HLI band could be transported from Belfast to Glasgow, despite it being far more practical to engage the Royal Scots Fusiliers based at Maryhill at the time.[47]

In Newcastle's case, there was the obvious choice to place memorials within large spaces, which accommodated ritual in later years. Eldon Square's spatial dynamics, for instance, easily provided for considerable moments of performance. The site and situation of the Renwick memorial facilitated the military show that constituted its unveiling, just as much as the presence of the Prince of Wales probably occasioned it. As we shall see in chapter 5, the location of the 6th battalion's monument, and its proximity to others, generated a set of ritual practices that would assert civic–military ties throughout the inter-war years and integrate the Great War into a historic martial tradition.

Crucially, war memorial spaces were different from the city's streets or other ceremonial sites in the Twenties and Thirties. They were regulated and protected by the same governmental means: any public acts around these memorials, including wreath laying, had to be sanctioned through application to

[46] TWA.MD.NC/26/7. Town Moor & Parks Committee Minutes 10/4/1923, p.27.
[47] GCA. War Memorial Committee Minutes. Meeting of the Sub Committee appointed on 29/6/1922 to adjust all necessary details in connection with the erection of the cenotaph.

the appropriate authorities (the Parks Committee in Glasgow, the Town Moor and Parks in Newcastle). But political culture marked the dead out of bounds, and not just on Armistice Day: there is no evidence that any political party made applications to use these sites at all.[48] Simon Gunn has suggested that the increasing politicisation of urban streets in the Twenties and Thirties, represented by the lively and significant demonstrations, complicated street space, eroding its ability to project ideas of 'the civic' in the inter-war period.[49] Under these terms, city war memorials were the quintessential civic-site: a place to register sympathy but also belonging, to articulate civic-ness above politics.

With regard to streets, which would be an important platform to display civic–military relations, it is possible to modify Gunn's argument. The 19th-century public spheres were 'constituted by conflict', to a greater or lesser degree, which underpinned the Liberal ethos of freedom.[50] Demonstrations and political protest, whilst marked in the inter-war years, also signified the civic democratic pluralism that civic communities wanted to project: each had to be sanctified by application to the council, and, in general, councils granted rights to a spectrum of political viewpoints. Glasgow's use of bye-law 20 (a wartime measure restricting free assembly), for instance, to clear a number of post-war disturbances generated a prolonged campaign on the part of leftist groups in Glasgow for 'Free Speech', which drew national attention.[51] As will be seen in Part 3, these spaces were meaningful backdrops for the realisation of civic claims, at least from the military's perspective.

It was not the political pluralism, however, that guaranteed military units and communities access to these sites. Ceremonial routes opened to military troops without sanction: the parades studied in this thesis, and discussed in Part

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[48] Adrian Gregory, *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919–1946* (Oxford: Berg, 1994), p. 131 and Chapter 5.

[49] Simon Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and authority in the English industrial city, 1840–1914* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2000), p.182.

[50] Geoffrey Ely, 'Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures' in C Calhoun (ed), *Habermas and the public sphere* (Cambridge,Mass: MIT Press, 1992), pp.305–6.

[51] https://libcom.org/history/fight-for-freedom-of-speech-glasgow-green

3, were not authorised through the usual committee channels that governed urban space. The various bye-laws that governed streets are difficult to ascertain, but military units, such as the Northumberland Fusiliers, did not have any special status with regard to martial freedoms during this time. Parades were facilitated, through the active cooperation of the civic office, transport and police, which itself betokened corporation support.[52] But no council or committee ever considered whether the St George's Parade (Newcastle) or Territorial Army parade (Glasgow) *should* take place. Whether this came from the power of the military, or the infrastructural roots of civic–military relations (outlined in the next section), is unknown. That councils were generally inclusive, when it came to street space, hid this fact somewhat: the military were one of many other paraders on city streets.

The persistence of the Liberal civilising mission into the inter-war years evidently worked to the benefit of military communities. In Newcastle, where the issue is obscured somewhat by lack of evidence, the Temperance festival on the Town Moor (originating in the 19th century to encourage sobriety) habitually reserved space for the regular infantry and artillery of Fenham Barracks, after it resumed from the wartime hiatus in 1924. [53] Glasgow, with a massive industrial population and acute slum problem, had focused great resources on creating healthful and uplifting recreational spaces for its citizenry within exhibition sites and its parks.[54]The Moderate council of the 1920s would continue doing so, in the process levying a great deal of prized patronage towards local and national military bands, probably to underline the Imperial claims of the city with a patriotic kick.

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[52] See TWA.PA.NC/1 Newcastle City Police Orders books. Volumes 10–16 cover the period under review and detail the orders necessary for the various military parades to take place.

[53] TWA.MD.NC/26/7. Town Moor & Parks Committee Minutes 8/4/1924, p.121. Frank Baron, *'The Town Moor Hoppings'; Newcastle's Temperance Festival, 1882–1982* (Newbury: Lovell Baines, 1984). *NWC*, 28/6/1924, p.7.

[54] Irene Maver, 'Glasgow's public parks and the community, 1850–1914: Scottish civic interventionism' in *Urban History*, 25 (1998), pp.323–47.

Labour's growth, and the rise of other forms of mass urban leisure, gradually eroded these impulses, but they did not entirely vanish. In 1923, for instance, the Kelvin Hall Executive Committee provided a list of recommended bands for its exhibition seasons: they were largely all military, some with local ties but others, too, without. Labour, whilst objecting that it took work away from unemployed musicians in the city, could not prevent it being approved by the corporation, albeit by a narrow margin.[55] Labour's ascendancy in 1932 did bring change: in 1935, the TAA formally protested to the council that its bands were being overlooked for the season, which Victor Warren (Moderate deputy leader) also raised in council. More research would be needed to clarify whether Glasgow under Labour, in the context of budgetary constraints and mass leisure, still allocated significant resources to parks and whether the withdrawal of military bands was part of a more general one. Certainly, the corporation still employed *some* military bands: it received another letter of protest from the Musicians Union regarding the military bands engaged.[56]

Corporation museums and art galleries, which also belonged to the mission to enliven and inspire municipal populations, had a crucial role in creating a 'sense of place', as well generating the self-regulatory citizen, in the way it configured exhibits and ideas of locality.[57] Whether military communities could see themselves within such spaces is obscured by the lack of extant guidebooks for either city. Once more, Glasgow is privileged above Newcastle in terms of evidence. The press cuttings books of the GMRC provided a rich resource of material regarding the life of its major museums, although its detail cannot provide a comprehensive view of a gallery at any one time. It is impossible to know the exhibitive shelf life of the war relics that accrued, for instance, during

[55] BMS 17, p.72 *GH*, 31/9/1923.
[56] BMS 35, p.28. *GH*, 26/06/1935
[57] Kate Hill, 'Manufacturers, archeology and bygones: making a sense of place in civic museums' in *International Journal of Regional and Local History*, 8 (2013), pp.54–74; Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, theory, politics* (London: Routledge, 1995).

1914–18, or the silver plate of the Glasgow Yeomanry added to the 'war collection' in the Kelvingrove in 1922.[58]

Glasgow's museum culture was obviously oriented towards the military, however, and the career of Glasgow curator, Captain Philippe Durand gives us a personification of the fusion of Scottish identity, martial tradition and military experience at a very local level. This curator of the People's Palace from 1922 (later the curator of all Glasgow's museums and art galleries) was a former artilleryman who had served in the Great War with the 7th HLI. His personal experience of military life combined with a keen interest and sound knowledge: he was a member of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and the Military Antiquaries Society.[59] In 1921, he oversaw a special exhibition of military badges (with a Scottish and Great War focus) which 'should appeal to all those who have served in the forces'.[60] In 1925, he gave a public lecture on the uniform of the HLI.[61] He supervised the opening of Kelvingrove's new 'Glasgow gallery' in 1927, which exhibited relics of the Battle of Langside, as well as a host of objects and flags from the Volunteer movement – 'their brightness yet untarnished'.[62] From the press cuttings books, there is little evidence of any substantial alteration to Glasgow's museum environment in the 1930s. Durand's career lasted until 1946 and, with little financial incentive to remake museums, there seems little to suggest that much changed.

Other spaces, however, were far more modern, and ambitious in their realisation of 'the civic' towards the end of the 1920s. Civic and business elites partnered in the spectacular creations of civic identity to boost industry and morale in the wake of the slump. In contrast to Manchester's civic weeks, which were annual events in that city's calendar, there are only two notable efforts

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[58] Gifts to Glasgow's museums in November 1917, for instance, included a gas mask, air pump, and cap badges of various Scottish regiments. GMRC Newscuttings 1914–1917. *GH* 22/12/1917, p.112. Newscuttings 1919–1922, p.18. *Evening Citizen* (hereafter *GEC*), 30/9/1922.
[59] *GH* 13/8/1974, p.24.
[60] GMRC Newscuttings 1919–1922, p.109.
[61] Ibid. June 1924–March 1926, p.60. *GH*, 4/2/1925.
[62] Ibid. May 1927–September 1928. *GH* 6/12/1927.

within Glasgow and Newcastle drawn from the period 1919–35. The North East Coast Exhibition (NECE), held May–October 1929 in the purpose-built 'Exhibition Park' within the Town Moor, presented a fantasia of art deco pavilions showcasing the city and region's industrial specialisms, as well as its own fairground. Glasgow's shorter 'Civic and Empire Week', held 29 May–6 June 1931, adapted most of the city's space for the purpose of celebration: the doors, offices and works of public and private industry were thrown open to local, national and international visitors; a programme of entertainments, designed to promote the city, were held in tandem.

The cutting edge of civic creativity for their time, they were thoroughly modern but not fundamentally progressive. Both the result of partnerships between civic, industry and business, and both foregrounded heavy industry above other sectors in the hope this would stimulate revival.[63] In one case, however, military elements could count in the reckoning of progressive technological advancement. In Glasgow, No. 602 Bomber Squadron, because of their close ties to the local air industry, was part of the programme, throwing Coplaw Street open to the public and holding an official 'At Home' at Renfrew aerodrome (one of the few sites the Lord Provost patronised).[64] In the main, however, military units fitted nicely into the patriotic evocation of the 19th-century industrial spirit, which was visibly affirmed in both. A great deal of military ceremonial underscored claims to greatness and Imperial reckoning during opening and closing ceremonies [Figure 18]; in NECE, certainly, local military bands performed within pavilions, although it is difficult to say what percentage of these programmes they took.[65] In NECE's case, this would have

[63] Michael Barker, 'The North East Coast Exhibition of 1929: Entrenchment or modernity' in *Northern History*, 51 (2014), pp.153–76.
[64] GCA. G1/3/25. Lord Provost's Papers: Civic and Empire Week, 1931. Lord Provost's Engagements.
[65] TWA. DX1167/2/1-28. North East Coast Exhibtion of Industry, Science and Art. Selection of programmes June–October 1929.

Figure 18 Opening North East Coast Exhibition May 1929

[NCL Acc. 47204]

been integrated into exhibition space had Northern Command ceded to their invitation to hold their annual tattoo on the ground.[66]

Business and industrial elites, however, were infrequent partners in civicness. There was one crucial figure in the civic–military relationship that could sustain military units as social actors.

Civic Leadership: Space and Civic Identity, 1919–c.1935

One man had incredible influence on notions of 'the civic' during this time: the civic leader. John Garrard has argued that civic leadership suffered a decline after 1914, with the significance and status of civic elites eroded by several factors, including the waning of municipal autonomy, an increasingly national political culture, and the decline of the local press.[67]As this thesis has argued, the tenets of this 'decline' argument have been challenged in recent times, and are contested in this thesis. The evidence presented in this section suggests that unique challenges of the inter-war years, and the context of depression, boosted the status of the civic leader, giving them an increased national and international profile. Moreover, they possessed considerable power to fashion civic identity and notions of belonging on an almost daily basis. This would be crucial for military communities.

The political, and social, backgrounds of civic leadership need iteration because these factors could influence civic–military relations. Parties fielded candidates, but it was overall council politics that decided the matter by a vote. In Newcastle, where there was greater opportunity in a three-pronged office of civic elite (Lord Mayor, Sheriff, Deputy Lord Mayor), Labour still faced significant obstacles in getting its candidates elected. Its candidates reflected the need for compromise. David Adams, who became the party's first sheriff in 1922, was the candidate most socially and politically palatable to the majority 'Business Group'. His career digest offered on nomination by Walter Lee hardly

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[66] *Proceedings 1928-9*, p.lviv.

[67] John Garrard, *Leadership and Power in Victorian Industrial Towns, 1830–80* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983).

differentiated him from his predecessors: a long record of public service, work for the Trade and Commerce committee in supporting the development of Tyne port; his status as the joint Managing Director of 'an important line of Steamers'.[68] In 1930, when Adams was elected as Labour's first Lord Mayor, he was not only part of the furniture, he looked much like the other furnishings, promising to uphold 'the great heritage' of the Mayoralty and the 'prestige and the dignity of the town'.[69] His gentle, paternalistic socialism referenced William Morris and John Ruskin as its heroes and was immersed in a 'great deal of civic pride'.[70]

Adams' appointment did pave the way for others of less status and more proletarian origins. William Locke, a colliery checkweighman and union official, was elected Sheriff in 1933 and became Lord Mayor in 1935. Yet, acts of give and take characterised these elections. In 1930, the 'Business Group' of the Council had threatened to contest David Adams' mayoral appointment. This was resolved by the appointment to the Shrievalty of Westgate's Moderate representative, and Unionist MP of the city from 1931, Dr Joseph William Leech. Declining electoral fortunes between 1931 and 1933–4, which made the Moderate vote ascendant, produced three successive Labour sheriffs, but no Mayor.

Labour's impact on social constituency of leadership was tangible, therefore, but small. If we consider the 60 offices available over the period 1919–39, half were drawn from retail areas of the city, with a strong showing of shipping, professional and construction elements. Only a tenth came from what we would consider as working-class membership: metalworkers and trade union representatives. [71] A strong strand of upper middle-class representation dominated political life. The Twenties were particularly associated with the ascendancy of Stephen Easten, construction magnate, and Arthur Lambert, whose family glass retailing business (Townshend & Co) would make his fortune when it was sold to Fenwicks making him a de facto gentleman politician

[68] *Proceedings 1930–1931*, p.4.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid., p.7.
[71] Appendix I. Newcastle Civic Elites 1919-1938: Politics & Occupation

possessed of a clutch of directorships. Both held the Mayoral office twice during this decade, with Lambert occupying a total of four civic offices. Prominent, too, was Robert Dalgleish, wealthy shipowner, who took his first turn in civic office in 1926 as Sheriff to Lambert's Mayor and became Mayor in 1934. In 1928, when they enjoyed another pairing, the Rotarians would celebrate another dual win for the association at their annual dinner.[72] Joseph Leech, surgeon, and John George Nixon Junior, chartered accountant, between them took seven turns in various civic offices.

But Moderate did not equal a born privilege: some of the party's candidates, although they were successful businessmen, and shared their conservative views on civic spending, were of humble origins. Joseph Stephenson, a Moderate Lord Mayor in 1928, 'started life as a pit boy' but had developed a prosperous grocery business in the city before the war, operating two stores by the late 1930s.[73] John Leadbitter, Moderate Mayor in 1933 (also Chairman of the Business Group), was the son of a miner, who started his career as message boy and shop assistant and rose to become 'one of the leading tailors in the North Country' and a prominent Rotarian by the end of the Twenties.[74] He occupied a large semi-detached residence in the nearby middle-class district of Gosforth before the war.[75]

In Glasgow, with civic headship manifested in the Lord Provost and with all incumbents bound for three years in the role, change would necessarily take time. For most of the period, the office remained the preserve of manufacturers, industrialists and professionals. They wielded the multiple public, voluntary and charitable possessions that identified them as part of an elite, which had been expanding in Glasgow since the mid-19th century.[76] Like these, some represented New, but significant, Money. Thomas Paxton came to Glasgow as a penniless 16-year-old but would make his fortune from a hospitality empire built on working-

[72] *NDJ*, 10/11/1928, p.9.
[73] *Proceedings 1929-30*, p.3. *Kelly's Directory of Northumberland*, p.232.
[74] *NJ*, 10/11/1931, p.14.
[75] 1911 census entry for John Leadbitter identified in www.ancestry.co.uk
[76] Trainor, 'The Elite', p.257. Trainor argues that these were able to maintain their integrity and influence on the city through membership of key institutions, including civic office.

class hostels. This had bought him access into the upper echelons of Glasgow's best, a status he cultivated through an active public life iterated in lengthy description in his 1909 *Who's Who* entry.[77] Matthew Walker Montgomery, who came from a family of Scottish manufacturers, was also a prominent member of the Trades House and Deacon of the Incorporation of Bonnet Makers and Dyers. David Mason, another manufacturer, was prominent in the Merchants House and Chamber of Commerce. Chartered accountant, J W Stewart, was involved in the Clyde Improvement Trust, as well as being a Deacon of the Hammermen.[78]

Together, these men defended their collective interests up to the period 1935 with a characteristic advocacy of financial retrenchment. James Stewart's period in civic office, for instance, was celebrated for its 'financial care' in his obituary notices. [79] William Walker Montgomery worked to contain Glasgow's municipalisation and was 'opposed to municipal effort which was competitive in character' and which stymied private industry. David Mason derided further municipalisation, abhorred any form of nationalization, or anything that was opposed to 'individual effort and enterprise'.[80] Any Labour candidate following in the footsteps of these men, who were profoundly Conservative, was likely to make waves. But it was not until the end of 1935, two years after their notable victory, that the opportunity arose for Labour to determine the election of civic leadership. They were never hamstrung by Moderate strength, but if the party was to continue and surpass its electoral success, it needed to broaden its appeal and its choice of candidate was crucial.

These men were stepping into an office that was becoming increasingly demanding and they recognised a sea change in the business of office. When

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[77] George Eyre Todd, *Who's Who in Glasgow*, entry for Thomas Paxton.

[78] 'MONTGOMERY, Sir Matthew Walker', Who Was Who, A & C Black, an imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing plc, 1920–2014; online edn, Oxford University Press, 2014 ; online edn, April 2014 [http://www.ukwhoswho.com/view/article/oupww/whowaswho/U214309, accessed 20 May 2014]

[79] *GH*, 4/11/1922, p.5.

[80] BMS 15. *GH*, 5/11/1926, p.96.

Robert Dalgleish stepped into Newcastle's Mayoral seat in 1935 he declared, somewhat sombrely, that the office was:

> an onerous position; it is becoming more onerous year by year, and it requires constant attention. Therefore, it is not a position to be undertaken with a light heart. It carries great responsibilities and there are many problems before us.[81]

Dalgleish's words contained more truth than boast. The workload of civic leaders had increased in important ways. As further burdens fell on the shoulders of local authorities (housing, public assistance), there was simply more to co-ordinate at committee level generally and, in some cases, important statutory obligations to fulfil in terms of overseeing committee work and public spending.[82]

Much increased administration, however, came from the efforts organised on the local level designed to reinvigorate local economies and, in this respect, it was self-made. The effort to regenerate industries and patronise business, large and small, brought civic leaders further into the forefront of each city's economic life than ever before. In this, like Manchester, the provision of state subsidies could provide great opportunity for development, and civic leaders played important roles in crystallising these projects.[83] The Mayoralty of Stephen Easten, for instance, was particularly associated with the development of the new bridge over the river Tyne, opened by George V in 1928, which was built on 60% subsidies and presented a much-needed boost to employment and morale at a time of economic distress.[84] Easten's sponsorship of the cause of the Municipal Airport, another project supported by national subsidies, was recognised with a plaque in his memory unveiled by the Aero Club in July 1937.[85]

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[81] *Proceedings 1934-5*, p.4.

[82] Barry Doyle, 'Changing functions of urban government: Councillors, officials and pressure groups', in *The Cambridge History of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp.2878.

[83] Wildman, 'The "Spectacle" of Interwar Manchester and Liverpool: Urban Fantasies, Consumer Cultures and Gendered Identities' (2007).

[84] Moffat and Rosie, *Tyneside*, p.323.

[85] *Proceedings 19289*, p.lxxxiv

That this was no more visible than in the two central performances of civic identity has already been hinted at. If NECE and Glasgow's 'Civic and Empire Week' achieved success in one area, it was in the promotion of the respective city fathers. Lambert would write with relish of his packed ceremonial diary in his autobiography-cum-history of the exhibition, *Northumbria's Spacious Year*.[86] He had a foot in every pageant that the Exhibition offered. He stood side by side with the Prince of Wales during the high ceremonial engaged for the Exhibition's opening. His face peered out of most newspaper coverage, greeting various dignitaries from the UK and around the globe. Although offered far less opportunity in terms of promotion, the Lord Provost still provided the focal point of coverage. It was his interpretation of the the exhibition, which was related in reports of the opening display of massed bands; his calendar of public engagements provided narrative coverage for the week.[87]

These performances differed little from the methods of the 19th-century leadership to articulate their power and notions of the civic and what Lambert and Kelly did at these exhibitions was simply an extension of their habitual role. Civic leaders customarily promoted local business and industry, and interpreted 'the civic' to the populous. These were smaller acts of sponsorship and patronage – the opening of a store, an after-dinner speech – but they were followed closely by the civic press, accumulating over time to contribute to notions of the civic. In Newcastle, the *City Record*, an official calendar of civic events that preceded the published annual *Proceedings*, was largely a compendium of all the Lord Mayor's major appointments.

As the depression worsened, these acts became more programmatic, with the energies of civic leaders directed towards coordinating regional responses to the depression. From 1934, in Newcastle, the Lord Mayor hosted a series of 'More Work' conferences, collaborations between the various local authorities and

[86] Arthur Lambert, *Northumbria's Spacious Year* (Newcastle: Andrew Reid, 1930).
[87] GCA G1/3/25 Lord Provost's Papers. Glasgow Civic and Empire Week file. Lord Provost's Engagements.

business in the Tyneside region. These would lead to the establishment of the North Eastern Development Board in 1935.[88] This only had time to publish a survey of Tyneside's industrial capabilities (designed to attract investment) before rearmament brought prosperity back to the region, and its influence is hard to gage. It certainly added to the status of Newcastle's leadership, also confirmed by the hosting of the 1936 conference to call for a governmental response to Jarrow's distress. In July 1935, the Lord Provost, Alexander Swan, organised and hosted a conference of 30 Scottish local authorities to coordinate Scottish responses to the Unemployment Act of 1934, argue for the exceptional status of Scottish cases and 'show that the formula under which Section 45 has been applied' overburdened the local authorities of distressed areas.[89]

Campaigning to bolster their economies increasingly brought local leaders in front of national and international audiences. These policies were roundly supported by Labour. Glasgow's Unionist Lord Provost Alexander Swan was celebrated on his retirement as the 'Ambassador of Glasgow' by Patrick Dollan for his efforts in promoting Glasgow's trade and industry: he had conducted ambassadorial visits to various cities in the UK to promote Glasgow's claims for new industries.[90] As first Labour Mayor of Newcastle, David Adams had been an energetic trade ambassador for the city, with his activities felt as far as Japan.[91] In September 1931, a report of the Tyne Advisory Council, signed by local representatives of various trade unions, praised Adams' 'special attention…during his term of office to bring trade not only to Newcastle but to the whole of Tyneside', arguing that it merited his retention in office for another year.[92]

These men, who brought dynamism to the role of civic office, also had considerable autonomy in the dispensing of patronage. Indeed, in Newcastle,

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[88] Stephen V Ward, 'Local Industrial Promotion and Development Policies, 1899-1940'in *Local* Economy 5 (1990), pp.10018.
[89] BMS 35, p.36. *GH* 27/7/1935.
[90] BMS 34, p.63.
[91] *Proceedings 1931-2*, p.9.
[92] TWA.DF.DA/13. David Adams Collection. Handbill "What Tyneside thinks of David Adams".

what seems to have been an irregularity within the usual political conduct gave the Lord Mayor particular abilities to wield large sums. The various acts of hospitality and formal 'welcomes' offered on behalf to the city to the Coldstream Guards (in their visit to deposit their colours in St Nicholas' Cathedral) in 1921 and the visit of the Atlantic Destroyer Flotilla in 1923, which cost the city over £600, were sanctioned by the Lord Mayor without any recourse to the council; the budgetary details were confirmed by a convened special sub committee in both cases, all former representatives of civic office, chairmen and vice chairmen of committees – both generational leaps backward in terms of political constituency.[93]

But the mundane decisions - how the civic leader chose to expend his time – also mattered. As will be seen in the third part of this thesis, which highlights the level of patronage military communities acquired, civic leadership was the lynchpin of civic–military relations. That this was the case testified to the political and cultural predilections of these men, but also to the culture of civic office. Each also based their decision-making on what came before and what was to come. Arthur Lambert's commentary on the selection of engagements is revealing in this respect:

> 'The chief problem before the Lord Mayor right through the twelve months is not in regard to his regular engagements, but it lies in the large number of requests which he feels unable to comply with, either through other engagements (although here his deputy steps in to help) or because the occasion is not of such an important or representative character to justify his personal attendance, which may establish a precedent for his successors in office.'[94]

For the most part, military responsibilities counted as 'regular engagements', duties fulfilled year in and year out with little thought or question.

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[93] *Proceedings,* 1920–1921, p.809. Meeting of ex-Lord Mayors, Ex-Sherrifs and Chairmen and Vice Chairmen of Standing Committees. MD.MC 94/10 19th October 1923, p.29. Meeting of Ex-Lord Mayors, Ex-Sheriffs, and Chairmen and Vice Chairmen of Standing Committees regarding the Visit of the Atlantic Destroyer Flotilla.

[94] TWA. DT 604/486/13. The Administration of a Great City: A series of talks broadcast from the Newcastle on Tyne Station of the BBC by the right hon Lord Mayor (Councillor A W Lambert MC JP) and Chief Officials of the Newcastle upon Tyne Corporation.

They harmonised with other strands of civic identity throughout the period, as will be shown in Chapter 5. This may also relate to a particular moment in the history of civic office, which at once dramatically foregrounded civic office whilst broadening its social base. Yet we can also see, in the activity described in Part 3, the persistent idea that civic leaders *should* be involved in military mobilisation. This had been established by years of precedent, both historic and recent, and was enshrined in civic memory through culture: the colours of local battalions hanging in the council chambers of both Newcastle and Glasgow; the portrait of Sir Thomas Dunlop, Glasgow's wartime Lord Provost, in full officer's uniform hanging in the long line of images in the City Chamber. Labour's civic leadership, which belonged mainly to the post-1935 period, would inherit a set of customs that it would find difficult and undesirable to abrogate.

Chapter 4

Civic–Military Public Spheres

If the civic–military relationship depended, to a great extent, on decisions made in City Chambers and civic offices, another player had a crucial influence over how the military were integrated into civic life. As arbiters and co-authors of civic identity in their own right, the civic press not only ultimately decided how the civic support of military communities was shaped: the civic public sphere presented a related, but independent, arena for negotiation of military identities. This chapter focuses on civic–military relations as they were expressed through the mechanisms and discourses of each city's local newspapers. As the treatment that the 'civic public sphere' meted out to local military units and groups depended, to a great degree, on the economic and cultural influences shaping the press during this time, this must necessarily begin with a discussion of the history of these markets before examining the 'civic–military public spheres' they produced.[1]

Local/National Markets: Newcastle and Glasgow's Newspapers

In 1938, the Political and Economic Planning Committee (PEPC), a loose collective of intellectual, political and industrial leaders bent on regenerating

[1] Nick Hayes and Michael Bromley coined the phrase 'civic public spheres' in 'Campaigner, Watchdog or municipal lackey? Reflections on the inter-war provincial press, local identity and civic welfarism' in *Media History* 8 (2002), pp.197–212.

national life in the face of the Depression, published a report into the state of the British press. Like the 700 or so studies of British economic and social life the committee produced, the report based its conclusions on sound research.[2] The study embraced a variety of accredited circulations and readership reports from within and without the industry, including the independent surveys of reader habits becoming increasingly popular in the Thirties. The interests represented on the committee (journalists, editors, industrialists) also gave it comprehensive access to the internal operations of the newsroom and print house, lending insights in what it termed the 'processing of news'. The report offered was, in effect, a contemporary history of journalistic and editorial practices, the newspaper industry, and the place of the broadsheet and tabloid in British society.[3]

Particularly concerned with the role and fortunes of the British national newspaper, the report laid bare the intensely nationalising elements within the newspaper industry, which is now a well-established part of media historiography.[4] From 1930, the aggregate circulation of London-based national dailies had grown from 1,740,000 (one not perceptively different to that of the late Victorian age) to an astonishing 10,670,000 by 1938.[5] Yet, however much it marvelled at this spectacular rise, its findings did not support the idea of a monolithic or nationalised newspaper culture. Using data from the 1935 survey of readership undertaken by the Incorporated Society of British Advertisers

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[2] Political and Economic Planning Committee (PEPC), *Report on the British Press: a survey of its current operations and problems with special reference to national newspaper and their part in public affairs* (hereafter *Report on the British Press*) (London: PEP, 1938). Estimated number of reports found in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, R.C. Whiting, 'Political & Economic Planning' (active 1931-1978).

[3] *Report on the British Press*, pp.12.

[4] For the decline thesis, see A P Wadsworth, 'Newspaper circulations, 1800–1954', *Transactions of the Manchester Statistical Society* (1955), pp.7–9. Recent historiography of national press includes, Adrian Bingham, 'Cultural hierarchies and the inter-war British press' in Erica Brown and Mary Grover (eds.), *Middlebrow Matters: Cultural Hierarchy and Literary Value* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), Laura Beers, 'A timid disbelief in the equality to which lip-service is constantly paid': gender, politics and the press between the wars' in Laura Beers and Geraint Thomas (eds.), *Brave New World: Imperial and Democratic Nation-Building in Britain between the Wars* (London: IHR press, 2012), pp.129–148.

[5] *Report on the British Press*, p.8.

(ISBA), which had sampled 80,000 families chosen in accordance with the socio-economic percentages of the general population, the PEPC estimated that only just over 40% of families in Scotland, and the north-east of England, took national newspapers. This compared with over 100% returned in London and the south-east.[6] Northumbrians were the least likely English regional population to purchase a national paper. In Scotland, families preferred Scottish newspapers over 'national' ones. The report would conclude geographical areas bordered national influence, which became less tangible above the river Trent: 'Roughly speaking…the farther from London, the fewer national and the more local papers were read.'[7]

Thus, amidst this narrative of nationalisation which historiography has highlighted, the report described strong pockets of defiant localism.[8] The Scottish press would retain both a significant place in the lives of Scottish families and an iconic part in the history of the industry past 1945: Scotland's cities, particularly Glasgow, were still considered powerhouses of newspaper production and Scottish journalism well into the second half of the 20th century.[9] Its regionalism was protected by distance from the centrality of London in an industry, which although benefitting from great leaps in telecommunications, was still facing significant distribution problems when reaching audiences further afield. This factor, according to David Hutchison, may have facilitated a 'breathing space…in which to build up reader loyalty' in Scotland; it is not illogical to suggest the same considerations sheltered local markets in the north-east.[10] Certainly, the history of both Glasgow's and Newcastle's public spheres during this period is one of local strength.

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[6] Ibid. Fig.12 Penetration of National Daily Newspaper by regions, 1935, p.241.
[7] Ibid. p.29.
[8] Kevin Williams suggests that the provincial news did not enter 'meltdown' well after 1945. Kevin Williams, *Read All About It!: A history of the British newspaper* (London: Routledge, 2009), p.155 and p.217.
[9] Harry Reid, *Deadline: The Story of the Scottish Press* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew's Press, 2006).
[10] David Hutchison, 'The History of the Press' in Neil Blain and David Hutchison (eds.), *The Media in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988), p.61.

In terms of power and circulation, Glasgow's public sphere was particularly developed and differentiated during this period. It had its major players.[11] The Outram Press, which had printed much of the city's share of newspapers since the 18th century, remained independently owned and managed. Its celebrated broadsheet, the *Glasgow Herald*, circulated international, national and local news amongst the city's business and professional sectors, appealing to their largely conservative outlook. Its pictorial paper, the *Bulletin*, although marshalling the *Herald*'s copy in reduced form, offered some 24 pages of photographic delights for just 1d. Outram also owned Glasgow's foremost evening paper, the *Evening Times*, which appealed to the working classes by substantial sports coverage and the occasional audacious backing of its politics – it famously took the miners' side in 1921. Despite their popularity, and intermittent political dabbling, both papers absorbed the world-view and much of the ingrained anti-socialism of the *Glasgow Herald*, through the sharing of copy and staff.

Behind these facades lay an impressive grouping of regional economic interests. By the Twenties, Outram was not the family business it was in the 19th century. However, it still possessed a strong grounding in local hierarchies. Its lists of directors and shareholders included, amongst others: Sir David McCowan, who had fingers in several marine-insurance enterprises, as well as Burmah Oil, and who held the position of President of the Scottish Unionist Association during this time; Laurence MacBrayne, a partner in his father's shipping company, the Glasgow-based Caledonian MacBrayne; inter-war Lord Provost, Sir Thomas Paxton, who made his fortune from a chain of working-men's hostels in the city; Sir John Reid, director of the North British Locomotive Company, local employer and President of the Springburn Unionist Association; and, lastly, Sir James Bell, a director of Clydesdale bank.[12]

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[11] Major news organs in Glasgow identified through the *Newspaper Press Directory* (hereafter *NPD*) (London: Benn bros) volumes for 1921, 1931, 1938. This thesis has not considered the intervention of the *Scottish Daily Express*, which was founded by Lord Beaverbook in 1928. This decision was made because of the the need for continuity in analysis.

[12] *Forward*, 6/7/1929, p.8

As a large population centre and melting pot of so many social and political elements, Glasgow provided a springboard for other publications. The city's most successful daily, the *Daily Record*, represented the Glaswegian answer to popular tabloid journalism. Once an organ of radical politics, by 1922 it had developed a more conservative hue with the purchase by Allied Newspapers Ltd – a newspaper chain founded by the Berry brothers.[13] By 1928, the *Record* locked in perpetual sparring with the *Scottish Daily Express*, a Lord Beaverbrook production; the competition between the two staffs formed much of the anecdotal substance of Scottish editor Jack Campbell's memoirs, as he narrated his early life in the newspaper trade.[14] Two other papers – the *Evening News* and the *Evening Citizen* – also made their mark during this time: both would start the Twenties within independently owned newspaper houses, but both would have been absorbed into the Kemsley group by the end of the inter-war period.[15] The *News* appealed to the 'high purchasing power public', in reality the middle-class consumer, which it hoped to net through a smattering of inter/national coverage, servings of local politics, features on aristocracy, and 'women's interest' columns. The *Citizen* spoke to Scottish, Presbyterian (UF) constituencies through a weekly column on 'Clerical Cameos' or 'Church Men and Matters', as it was in the Thirties, and a regular Gaelic interest section. Both in local and Scottish news coverage, it betrayed a distinctly Unionist bias.

The *Citizen* was not Glasgow's only paper with religious or political niche appeal. Charles Diamond's *Glasgow Observer* followed a pro-Catholic line, with a secondary focus on the 'cause of labour generally'. Its patronage of working-class Catholic issues did not keep it in Labour's pockets – the furore over birth control would see to that – and it veered between interventions on behalf of Moderate/Progressive and Labour candidates during elections over the two

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[13] Newspapers, www.theglasgowstory.com/story.php?id=TGSEB02. Accessed 20 November, 2013. Viscount Camrose, *British Newspapers and their Controllers* (London: Cassell, 1947), pp.65–72.

[14] Jack Campbell, *A Word for Scotland* (Edinburgh: Luath, 1998).

[15] Duncan Ferguson, *The Scottish Newspaper Press* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1946), p.27.

decades.[16] This left the voice of the politicised working class to *Forward*. This paper, in weekly editions, articulated a range of leftist expression. Co-founded by Tom Johnston, a university-educated socialist MP associated with the Red Clydesiders, *Forward's* pages presented a tranche of international socialist news and opinion pieces, accompanied by local or regional developments, chiming with, but challenging, the views and politics of its readership.

This market, which contained newspapers with such claims upon Scottish identity, also offered smaller enterprises closely linked to the persistence of burgh pride. These had largely been founded in the heyday of these political entities, before the police burghs had been absorbed into Glasgow. Significant amongst these was the *Govan Press*, founded and managed by John Cossar Ltd, which continued to be a family-run business well after the death of its founder in 1890. Surviving Govan's incorporation in 1912, it still presented a lively account of 'local news and items of interest' through the inter-war period and beyond.[17] Despite grounding in an area famous for abour activism, this appealed specifically to middle-class interests in Govan and beyond.[18] By 1934, it also circulated within Govan's neighbouring suburbs: Kinning Park, Craigton, Plantation and Linthouse. It covered bowlers' associations, fundraisers and sports, as well as pieces on women's fashion. Its politics preferred Unionist associations, polite meetings of tenants' associations, with a steadfast backing of economic hierarchies through the celebratory coverage of ship launches from yards. Other papers, the *Pollokshaws News* and the *Southern Press*, likewise represented the strong local feeling still present in the more recent southern acquisitions of the city.

Although, as we have seen, at least part of Glasgow's press were becoming prey to outside influences, the focus of each paper remained firmly Scottish. This

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[16] *NPD*, 1934, p.144.
[17] Ibid, 1920, p.135. It finally folded in 1983. See www.acumfaegovan.com/govanpress.php for a brief history of the paper and its management, as well as notice of its recent revival.
[18] Calum Campbell, *The Making of a Clydeside Working Class: Shipbuilding & working class organisation in Govan* (London: CP History Group, 1986).

can be seen in the convergence between Glasgow's press and the inter-war 'Scottish renaissance' in national culture.[19] Sir Robert Bruce, President of the Burns Federation and editor of the *Herald*, was memorialised by Hugh MacDiarmid (prominent Scottish renaissance poet) who dedicated one poem to him 'in his appreciation of his efforts to foster a Scottish literary revival'.[20] The *Herald* employed several important cultural icons of the movement, notably John Robertson Allan and William Power.[21] Other regular contributors to the *Herald* included F. Marian McNeil, Scottish folklorist, and Sir Robert Sangster Rait, Professor of Scottish History and Literature at Glasgow University.[22] This was a conscious infusion of Scottish-ness into the paper, one in sympathy with Outram's advertising strategies of opposing the 'London press…which aims at the destruction of the local, in our case national, initiative in newspaper life and at the domination of the whole country by opinion dictated in London'.[23]

Other papers adopted similar tactics. Neil Monro, the novelist praised as the 'apostolic successor to Sir Walter Scott', steered the *Evening News* as editor until the end of the Twenties.[24] George Blake, whose literary output centred on the post-industrial ideas of Scottishness and its landscape, sat as editor of the *Evening Citizen* in the Thirties, but he had also been a regular contributor to the *News* for years before that.[25] It is notable that interlopers like Allied Newspapers Ltd capitalised on locality and did not dilute it. The *Daily Record* maintained all Scottish staff and the 'outward appearance of being Scottish' during the transition to London management and beyond.[26] Glasgow-born and educated

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[19] Margery Palmer McCulloch, *Modernism and Nationalism: Literature and society in Scotland, 1918-1939* (Glasgow: Association Scottish Literary Studies, 2004).
[20] Robert Crawford, 'MacDiarmid in Montrose' in Alex Davis and Lee M Jenkins (eds.), *Locations of Literary Modernism: Region and Nation in British and American modernist poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.48.
[21] Margery Palmer McCulloch, 'William Power' in *ODNB.* William Donaldson, 'John Robertson Allan' in *ODNB*.
[22] James A Pratt, 'F Marian McNeill'; D M Abbot, 'Robert Sangster Rait', both in *ODNB*.
[23] *Bulletin*, 8/11/1929, p.3.
[24] Ronald W Renton, 'Neil Monro' in *ODNB.*
[25] Moira Burgess, 'George Blake' in *ODNB*.
[26] Ferguson, *The Scottish Newspaper Press*, p. 21.

Donald Carswell spent time as editorial and managerial chief of Associated Scottish Newspapers Ltd., the company established by Lord Kemsley to operate its Scottish possessions.[27] His staff included Power (who joined in 1929) and the Gaelic poet, A D Mackie, with the *Record* receiving regular contributions from Blake, Munro and Rosslyn Mitchell.[28] In 1926, this fusion of national and religious feeling erupted into the public sphere with the foundation of the *Scots Observer*, which was closely linked to what its first editor, William Power, called 'the organising of a new Scotland'.[29]

Newcastle's newspaper market was less frenzied and more vulnerable to both the incursion of national speculators and the pressures that were then nationalising the market.[30] The historic *Newcastle Daily Journal*, a 2d broadsheet founded in the late 18th century, merged with the Darlington-based *North Star* in 1924 for financial reasons. The resulting *Newcastle Daily Journal and North Star* maintained its original political affinity, as touted by its owners, the Northern Counties Conservative Newspaper Company: 'the cause of Conservatism has not an abler nor a more consistent advocate than the…*Journal*.'[31] Despite the merger, the paper was too costly to run independently, and it fell victim to Allied Newspapers in September 1939.[32]

By that time, Allied had achieved an effective monopoly of Newcastle's newspapers. The *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, which bore the legacy of its late 19th-century radical founder Joseph Cowen, had been taken over by the group in 1924.[33] Like Glasgow's *Daily Record*, its formerly radical politics became increasingly tinged with a conservative outlook from that point, although it

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[27] Randall Henson, 'Donald Carswell' in *ODNB.*

[28] See William Power, *Should Auld Acquaintance* (London: GG Harrap & Co., 1937), p. 130 and pp. 159–161 regarding the Scottish background of staff and journalists of Associated Scottish Newspapers Ltd.

[29] Power, *Should Auld Acquaintance*, p. 121.

[30] All major newspapers in Newcastle's market identified through the *NPD* for years 1921, 1931, and 1938.

[31] *NPD*, 1927, p. 158.

[32] Michael Preston, *The Newcastle Journal, 1832 – 1950* (Wylam: 1983), p. 22.

[33] Joan Hugman, 'Print and Preach: The Entrepreneurial Spirit of Nineteenth Century ' in Robert Colls (ed), *Newcastle upon Tyne: A Modern History* (Chichester: Philimore, 2001), pp.113–32.

maintained its outward support of the working man. Another Liberal paper, the *North Mail*, credited with the success of the party in the 1910 elections in Newcastle and Northumberland, had fallen by the early Twenties.[34] It amalgamated with the *Chronicle* in 1922 and entered Allied's fold soon afterwards. Rationalisation after the takeover also created casualties, in the closure of the *Illustrated Chronicle*, the city's main pictorial paper, at the end of 1925. However, two organs from the *Chronicle*'s house operated throughout the period, aside from the *North Mail & Chronicle*: the *Evening Chronicle* recycled the news and views of its daily sister in a more digestible format; a weekly edition, *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle* differentiated itself as a 'first class family paper' by providing an array of features, opinion pieces and serialisations to entertain and inform the weekly reader.[35] All of these, through an increased emphasis on photography, filled the vacuum left by the *Illustrated Chronicle.*

Newcastle's readership base was too small to sustain the number of sectional enterprises seen in Glasgow. Lord Rothermere's failed attempt to draw from its pockets famously failed, with the *Evening World* only surviving three years before folding in 1929.[36] The significant Catholic population in the city and surrounding areas generated another Diamond production, the *Tyneside Catholic News*, which advocated 'Irish National independence and the cause of labour generally'.[37] Unlike Glasgow's organ of Catholic news, this could not remain purely local. In 1935 it was incorporated with the national *Catholic Herald*, becoming only a Tyneside edition, although it still retained local news columns. Like its Glaswegian counterpart, the *Tyneside Catholic News* promoted religious interest above that of class politics. Unlike the 'second city', there would be no havens for the Left within its public sphere. The *Sunday Sun* (a child of the *Chronicle*) targeted the 'working man' but offered him sports and sensationalist coverage of murders, affairs and celebrity gossip. Newcastle's Labour Party

[34] H Simonis, *The Street of Ink: An Intimate History of Journalism* (London: Cassell, 1917), p.17.
[35] *NPD*, 1920, p.64.
[36] Camrose, *British Newspapers*, p.68.
[37] *NPD*, 1921, p.155.

reports reserved praise for the socialist national, the *Daily Herald*, for its 'good service to the aims and objects of the party'.[38]

It is much harder to comment on the factors shaping what the PEPC termed the 'processing of news' – the forces behind what manifested on the page – in the case of Newcastle. As has been suggested, political bias was tangible and easily gleaned from the pages. Without newspaper archives, and within a local newspaper society that was hardly as iconic as Glasgow's, it is much harder to trace the influences driving editorial strategies and shaping journalistic content. We are left to 'decode' the pages themselves.[39] From these it is possible to view this public sphere as a melting pot of various strands of Northern, Northumbrian and Novocastrian identity. Local subjects, landscapes and local mythologies – the hallmarks of what Robert Colls has termed the 'new northumbrian' movement, which Joseph Cowen's 19th-century press can be identified with – are more pronounced in Newcastle's press than in Glasgow's, even those owned by Allied.[40] This was particularly true of the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*, whose features pages were the stuff of 'New Northumbrian-ism' and whose 'Local Matters' column reported at the level of neighbourhood and street. In 1939, the *Newcastle Journal* staff photographers held their own exhibition of North Country photographs in the corporation's Laing Art Gallery.[41]

Technology was changing the character of the press content, as with the national dailies. With photography cheaper to produce and disseminate, the visual elements of local life was removed from the hands of the specialist papers: all newspaper became more focused on the image. This was a national trend, connected with the popularity of the image (as seen in cinema's success) and the popular news, but it transformed the pages of the Thirties paper.[42] The

[38] TWA. Acc. 608. City Labour Party. Annual Report, 1932.
[39] Stuart Hall, 'Encoding/decoding' in Hall (ed.), *Culture, Media, Language: Working papers in Cultural Studies* (London: Hutchinson, 1980), pp.128-38.
[40] Robert Colls, 'The New Northumbrians' in Robert Colls (ed.), *Northumbria: history and identity* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2007), pp.151–77.
[41] *Proceedings*, 1938–9, p.xci.
[42] Kevin Williams, *Read All About It!*, pp.158–9.

photograph became a new way of framing news, one editors increasingly turned to provide interesting and enticing copy to readers. Alastair Dunnett, Arts Editor of the *Daily Record* in the Thirties, remembered the paper had a 'lively platoon of photographers…..who saw the point of taking their own visual concept of a news story'.[43] Under Dunnett's direction, the paper focused on communicating certain stories via the photographic image and captioning: 'the right pictures could eliminate the need for a news story'.[44]

For both Glasgow and Newcastle, these strategies kept the civic public sphere vital during challenging times. No national-level independent circulations data exists for this period, but the numbers that can be gleaned from company announcements as well as other sources support the PEPC's findings. Chains like Allied Newspapers made their money because of profitability of the local press, not in spite of it. In 1929, Sir William Berry proudly announced in his annual review that the combined circulation figures of its three major papers – the *North Mail*, Leeds' *Daily Despatch*, and Glasgow's *Daily Record* – reached over 750,000.[45] When the company purchased the *Newcastle Journal* (as it was then called) in 1939, the paper had entered figures with the Audit Bureau of Circulations (the closest Britain had to a national accounting system, but wholly voluntary) of between 25,000-26,000 for the past three years.[46] This was not an insignificant proportion of the local, social constituency to which it appealed. More independent publications also found the years profitable, particularly in Glasgow. The *Evening Times* consistently reported circulation figures over 200,000, but Jack House remembered sales reaching over the half million if Rangers or Celtic had won Saturday matches.[47]

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[43] Alastair Dunnett, *Among Friends* (London: Century, 1984), p.103.
[44] Ibid.
[45] *Daily Record* (hereafter *DR*), 15/05/1929, p.12.
[46] Audit Bureau Circulations Circulation Review (Berkhamsted: ABC). No.6 1st July – 31st Dec 1936, p. 4; No. 7 Jan 1st – June 30th 1937, p.4; No.9 Jan 1st – June 30th, 1938, p.4; No.10 July 1st – Dec 31st 1938, p.4; No.11 Jan 1st – June 30th, 1939, p.4.
[47] 'Jack House reflects on the story of the Evening Citizen', *GEC*, 19/3/1975, p.12.

Civic Identity

As well as appealing to notions of local identity, each public sphere actively intervened in the project of civic identity and cultivated a very visible public place in local life, setting themselves up as guardians of civic identity. Garrard and Croll have both identified the provincial press as major civic participants in the 19th-century idea of the civic: active players in politics and distillers of the Liberal civic message.[48] As Nick Hayes and Michael Bromley have postulated, the inter-war provincial press still had a commercial imperative to play on civic feeling.[49] Certainly, the local press began the inter-war decades from a position of strength. Catriona Macdonald and Pierre Purseigle have demonstrated the importance of press discourse and representation in 'mediating' [50] or 'translating'[51] the war for local families and citizens alike. Helen McCartney's *Citizen Soldiers* suggests that the local paper had one up on the national: it was able to respond to the emotional needs of civilians and military, and prove more valuable source of frontline information than the national daily because it was harder to censor.[52]

The civic status of the local newspaper rose to greater heights in the immediate post-war period, as it assumed a central role in the vibrant commemorative culture of these years. Press representatives were considered vital to the success of the civic memorial movement in both cities: they could fan fundraising fever, and were considered repositories of public feeling and sympathies. In December 1919, the names of the *Northern Echo* and *North Star* were added to the list of the 'Special Committee relative to the Question of a City

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[48] Andy Croll, *Civilising the Urban: Popular culture and public space in Merthyr, c.1870–1914* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997). John Garrard, *Leadership and power in Victorian industrial towns 1830–80* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1983).

[49] Michael Bromley and Nick Hayes, 'Campaigner, watchdog or municipal lackey? Reflections on the inter-war provincial press, local identity and civic welfarism' in *Media History* 8 (2002), pp.197–212.

[50] Catriona Macdonald, 'May 1915: race, representation and riot' in CMM Macdonald and EW McFarland (eds.) *Scotland and the Great War* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998), p.166.

[51] Pierre Purseigle, 'Beyond and Below the Nations', p.101.

[52] McCartney, *Citizen Soldiers*, pp.103–17.

War Memorial', which already contained the names of editors of both the *Journal* and the *Chronicle*.[53] It is not clear whether Glasgow's editors lurk in the expansive list of the city's war memorial committee, but certainly the press had a formative role to play. The executive committee's desire to access and represent public opinion manifested itself in the press cuttings books, in which were inserted relevant articles, various letters to the editors, features and editorials, on the matter of the city memorial.[54] This affirmed the *Glasgow Herald* as the arbiter of responsible citizenship and civic taste, with cuttings from its pages.

Press intervention also kept fundraising fervour alive. Not only did they found their own initiatives, they were integral to civic efforts. The *Herald*'s civic clout may also have helped it to garner funds from businesses and institutions. In turn, its role in the civic appeal confirmed its status as the paper of public record. All formal appeals were issued through its pages, ones always addended by a long list of subscribers and their donations, which ran into eight editions. That this provided space for civic recognition, that firms took this seriously, can be inferred from one letter, written by a representative of a leading Glasgow tobacco merchant and manufacturer to the Lord Provost's secretary. Responding to the news that their recent donation would be swiftly acknowledged, he noted 'with pleasure that the 5th list of subscribers, embodying our donation, will appear in tomorrow's edition of the 'Glasgow Herald', and I have to thank you for so kindly arranging the insertion in the manner desired by myself'.[55]

Press intervention in civic matters did not stop at the cessation of commemorative fundraising and the evidence from Newcastle and Glasgow confirms Hayes and Bromley's portrayal of active engagements in matters civic. This was, in part, because of a general acceptance of civic elites in the importance of these enterprises – an indication of the sharing of political and cultural

[53] TWAS. MD.NC/93/94/9. Meeting of the Special Committee relative to the Question of a City War Memorial, 17/12/1919.
[54] GCA. G1/3. Glasgow War Memorial, Memorandum of Suggestions as contained in the Press, dated 20/2/1920.
[55] GCA. G1/3 Subscribers War Memorial File. Letter from the Secretary of Glasgow District Committee of F & J Smith to Sir John S Samuel, dated 16 April 1920.

sympathies during this time between civic elites and the press. For the conservative leader, wholehearted press support was both useful and necessary. In 1924, for instance, the Lord Provost wrote to the managing editor of the *Citizen*, Arthur S Hedderwick, congratulating him on the paper's diamond jubilee and applauding its civic virtues:

> Essentially a Glasgow paper, it has always presented to the citizen a sane, intelligent and stimulating lead on national and local affairs….[setting] a high example to all classes of the community of public spirit and patriotism, not only in literature and journalism, but in the public life of our city.[56]

It was hardly surprising that the press was, therefore, in the vanguard of activity when it came to bolstering civic pride, underlining achievement and relaying a positive civic message. But they were also assets in these performances of civic pride, and not simply translators. Outram participated in both 1931's Civic Week, throwing their doors open to 1,500 visitors, as well as running their own stall at the 1935 Century of Progress Exhibition of printing equipment and typefaces from over the century.[57] Both confirmed the press as an integral part of the story of Glasgow's development, affirming her spirit of technical innovation and bolstering claims to both national and Imperial importance.

In Newcastle, the North East Coast Exhibition of 1929 displayed the local news industry prominently, with the *Evening World* introduced to the reading public through its own pavilion opposite that of the *Evening Chronicle.* This also contributed to the narrative of technological innovation relayed through the Industrial Pavilion, the largest in Exhibition Park. Here, with equipment on show and in motion, the *Chronicle* affirmed its status as 'the first newspaper in this country to adopt the Linotype machine… and the Bush printer' that demonstrated how the 'latest news is rapidly printed in branch offices in various

[56] GCA. G1/1/83. Lord Provost Letter Books: 7/5/1924-13/12/1924, p.385.
[57] GCA G1/3/25 Glasgow Civic and Empire Week file. Report by Manager: Works & Factories; *Bulletin*, 7/5/1935, p.12.

parts of Northumberland and Durham'.[58] Newcastle, and the county, so the example of the paper said, had always been home to innovators.

Claims to a prestigious place in the civic public arguably mattered more to those productions whose identities had been reconfigured, who were not so blessed with the kind of shared history as the *Herald* or the *Citizen.* The restyled *North Mail & Chronicle*, as it was known after the merger, carved out a niche for itself in the project of civic identity well after Allied's takeover in the early Twenties. Each year it spoke the language of public-spiritedness and civic-mindedness in the sponsorship of the 'North Mail Home Exhibition', held in St George's Drill Hall. At the opening in 1926, its managing director, Edward Tebbutt, who had been with the paper since 1910, spoke of his 'great satisfaction' at the attendance of the Lord Mayor, which bolstered the paper's enterprises. It shared, he said, the civic mission of the corporation, in endeavouring 'to instruct the people in Newcastle in the latest developments of housing…which is promoting the interests of those with whom it comes into contact day by day'.[59]

The press also placed itself in the centre of projects to improve each city's economic outlook, or at least ameliorate its condition. Ten years after Tebbut's speech, on the same stage, Colonel Appleyard (Chairman of the North Eastern Trading Estates) used the North Mail Home Exhibition as a platform to launch the new schemes in the Team Valley. His speech envisaged a powerful role for the local press in the city's economy: the conception and implementation of these new innovations simply could not have been conducted without the aid of local newspapers.[60] In Glasgow, too, Lord Kemsley could state with some truth that the formation of the Scottish Development Council, the coalition of local politicians and businessmen behind the Empire Exhibition, had originated with the *Daily Record*: two of its journalists had dreamt up the organisation.[61] Outram

[58] TWA. DX1167/1/2. Official Guide: North East Coast Exhibition, p.24.
[59] *NWC*, 20/11/1926, p.10.
[60] Ibid., 7/11/1936, p.8.
[61] *GH*, 1/6/1938, p.19.

established its own 'National Miners' Fund', backed by all of its newspapers, with full sponsorship of the Lord Provost in December 1928.[62]

Few could deny the power of the press in conveying the messages that these exhibitions had been designed to disseminate. All newspapers produced rafts of material surrounding these high moments of civic celebration, special editions and inserts that focused the public mind on the civic mission in hand. Although civic elites were not behind in the latest advances in public communication, particularly in Glasgow, they relied on the press far more as a regular feeder of the civic message to the populous.[63] Radio and newsreel would, for instance, take a great part in the 1938 Empire Exhibition in Bellahouston Park. However, even in this later period, these could not live with the daily changes and minute goings-on of the Exhibitions in the same way that a newspaper could. In 1931, the *Herald*, in an editorial eulogistic of press contribution to civic week in Glasgow and the positive messages it disseminated to the populous, declared that:

> 'But for the intensive newspaper propaganda, the Week would never have been heard a couple of miles beyond George Square. Again and again like service is given in the cause of spreading a knowledge of Glasgow's rightful claim to be possessed of the civic, commercial, industrial and cultured qualities that must characterise a City holding the proud pre-eminence of the Second in the Empire. All this is done by the press because of civic patriotism.'[64]

If the press embraced the highest moments of civic patriotism with verve, they also demonstrated an almost unquestioning willingness to accept and grant civic elites the status they sought. In general, the Lord Provost in Glasgow or Lord Mayor in Newcastle could do little in their ceremonial or official capacities that did not excite press interest and demand the presence of a photographer.

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[62] BMS 25, p.133. *GH*, 19/12/1928.

[63] TWA. DT 604/486/13. The Administration of a Great City: A series of talks broadcast from the Newcastle on Tyne Station of the BBC by the right hon Lord Mayor (Councillor A W Lambert MC JP) and Chief Officials of the Newcastle upon Tyne Corporation. Lambert drew much of the material for *Northumbria's Spacious Year 1929* from this speech.

[64] BMS 30, p.118 *GH*, 31/11/1931.

Although newspapers did much to underpin and confirm the position of the highest civic office, city politics was never outside their reach. They might embrace the overall civic mission to regenerate communities, but they were not beyond disputing the details or the conduct of policy. The *Evening News* in Glasgow, through its 'George Square' column, levelled blows at both Moderate and Labour councillors equally. Newspapers with a fundamental conservative outlook, such as the *Glasgow Herald*, did not have too many difficulties coping with the ascendancy of Labour in the council, for reasons that might be surmised from the preceding chapter, although they were habitually critical of the handling of the city's finances. That Newcastle's press could still punch upwards would be demonstrated by its attacks over civil defence in the later part of the Thirties. The unity of civic government and press was never absolute, but in general they played for the same team in the inter-war years.

Civic–Military Public Spheres

Into these vibrant public spheres fell the military units and associations under the review of this thesis. As mediators of civic publics and identity, whose aim was to construct a vibrant and positive image of local society, it counted when military communities were drawn into the framework of local belonging through their pages. Most papers reviewed by this thesis designated regular spaces for local military subjects. In both cities, it was the business and professional interest papers, to the right on the political spectrum, which provided the backbone of this form of legitimation: the *Glasgow Herald* and the *Newcastle Journal*. It is perhaps no surprise that papers with such class and political affinities should sponsor military communities. The *Journal* was, after all the 'daily paper of the well-to-do and influential section of the district'. The *Herald* was lambasted by the Left as the 'principal defender of Capitalism and Toryism in the West of Scotland'.[65]

[65] *NJ*, 1/6/1938, p.6; *Forward*, 6/7/1929, p.8.

As well as offering the most consistency and support in the coverage of their various activities, driving a regular stream of news and features into the civic public sphere, each allocated particular sections for military use. The *Herald*'s 'Imperial Forces' column provided a weekly digest of local military activity, staff appointments and training news. The *Journal*'s 'Matters Military' section, more anecdotal, gave a regular appreciation of military societies in the north-east.

They were not the only papers doing so. Newcastle's *Chronicle*, later the *North Mail*, ran a less regular 'Military Topics' column, with a designated correspondent to report on local matters of military interest. Glasgow's *Evening Citizen*, with its Presbyterian and Gaelic overtones, even surpassed the *Herald* for its embrace of military life. During the Twenties, the weekly 'Territorials' column guaranteed a regular influx of news about the volunteer component in city life, and advertised forthcoming ritual and social events. By 1930, the *Citizen* had replaced this by 'The Services' column, which reported on all of Glasgow's military and naval communities, mainly at home but also abroad. A large part of its matter on Armistice Day 1933 was, for instance, centred on the HLI's 2nd battalion's celebration of the Assaye anniversary in Waziristan.[66] As previously detailed, the 'Old Comrades Association' column in the *Daily Record* provided a tacit acknowledgment of both the size and importance of such groups and their social traffic in the life of the city.

Newspapers without such designated spaces still provided comprehensive treatment of military life beyond that of the recruitment march. As will be illustrated in forthcoming chapters, they afforded significant coverage to ceremonial and social rituals and also provided features on regimental histories and traditions, descriptions and illustrations of changes in uniform, and other items of local military interest. In November 1931, for instance, the *Citizen* produced a series of feature-length war stories in which local units featured prominently. Written by the commander of the 156th infantry brigade during the

[66] *GEC*, 11/11/1933, p.8.

war, Brigadier General A H Leggett, these presented a full-blown military account of the Battle of Gaza, replete with timings of manoeuvres, diagrams and maps. Its sub-headline hinted at an act of remembrance, separate to the forthcoming sombre observances of the 11th, which was far more celebratory of military effort than involved in the existential point of the war's meaning. It marked the 'NOV 2: ANNIVERSARY OF GALLANT DEEDS'.[67] A week later, it published another collection of narratives describing the involvement of local units in the evacuation of the Gallipoli peninsula in 1916 – a military failure transformed into a narrative of 'one of the most successful operations in the war' for its efficiency and lack of bloodshed.[68]

There was one newspaper, *Forward*, from whom military commanders and serving men alike could hope for little support. When it came to military matters, this consistently promoted the anti-war movement in Glasgow, railed against armaments firms, and rearmament more generally after 1936. It baulked at the massive profits accrued through the exploitation of the workforce, maintaining a venomous contempt for the figureheads of the industrial-military complex. Yet, although this paper has been mined for precisely the forms of contestation it might have provided, little has been found. Analysing all editions of *Forward* before major military events in the city has yielded only one instance (the Victory Parade of 1919) when its journalists or editors reacted against the military or naval power of the state in their reporting of local units. *Forward* never challenged the civic claims of any service unit – it simply did not report on them. Its weekly editions had more pressing battles to fight, in grander spheres of existence. Military units, and their cultural operations, fell well below that radar; local armaments and shipbuilding firms did not. *Forward*'s silence is worth commenting on. It left the waters of the Glasgow's public sphere remarkably calm when it came to service groups and personnel.

[67] *GEC*, 7/11/1931, p.8.
[68] *GEC*, 14/11/1931, p.8.

Lacking archival insights that might have revealed specific editorial agendas, we are left to draw some informed hypotheses of how and why military groups emerged from the pages of the local press. A small part of the explanation lies in the relationships operating a civic level. Certainly in Glasgow, where the more comprehensive minutes of the TAA illuminate the issue, the civic status of the members of the Territorial Association guaranteed them a press audience. Former Lord Provost, Archibald M'Innes Shaw, did the rounds of Glasgow's newspaper editors' offices when in charge of the massive recruitment drives in the early Twenties, garnering staggering press support for the 1921 effort.[69] The serialisations of the histories of all Territorial units by the *Citizen* between September and December 1930, all appended with special appeals for 'men wanted' and contact information for drill halls and commanding officers, smacked of a less formal approach than ones not detailed in the TAA minutes.[70]

It is possible to see in the prominent personnel of Glasgow's public sphere, easier to identify than Newcastle's, a deeper level of interconnectivity. William D Robieson, Glasgow university-educated journalist at the *Herald*, who rose to assistant editor in 1924 and then Editor in 1937, was also an active member of the QOCHA and driving force behind the 6th QOCH Reunion Club in the Thirties.[71] When William Power sat in the editorial seat of the *Scots Observer* he received 'sound advice' from Colonel Norman Macleod, chartered accountant and prominent leader of the veterans movement in Glasgow and Scotland, who was also a diligent President of the QOCHA. His autobiography also name checks religious leaders, Dr Lachlan Maclean Watt (of Glasgow Cathedral) and Dr Boyd Scott, Territorial chaplain of the HLI (whose church Power also attended) who were prominent advocates of the military.[72]

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[69] LRAF. Glasgow TAA Minutes 1921-1922. Report by Major Harvie Anderson on the Recruiting Fortnight. 21/3/1921. Results of the press drive can be seen in TAA Scrapbook.

[70] 'Doings of the 5th HLI in the Great War' in *GEC*, 4/10/1930, p. 10; '6th HLI Hardships in the Desert', 22/11/1930, p.10.

[71] Power, *Should Auld Acquaintance,* p.121.

[72] Ibid., pp.125–6.

The treatment meted out to military communities resulted less from the machinations of local military hierarchies, or the interconnections of military and civic personnel in Glasgow's case, and more because they could tell the stories that editors and journalists wanted to tell in the inter-war period. They were the servants of the press, not their masters. The features article, or report, resulted from a series of largely unconscious and unquestioning operations, which filtered through all levels of news processing from the journalist, via all editorial elements, and onto the page. In only a very few cases would editors have to confront the fact of their coverage head on, or be forced to defend their motives for inclusion. The relative controversy over the Northern Command Tattoo in 1934 was probably one of those times that newspaper staff became more self-conscious, but, in general, the debate focused mainly on the suitability of the performance for school children, and the duties of the corporation in this respect.[73]

Behind all articles lay a nexus of political and cultural sympathies: a wish to project and inter-relate various strands of local, national and Imperial modes of belonging, which regiments evoked and expressed;[74] a faith in the value and purpose of the armed forces; an adherence to a stratified social worldview envisaged by military hierarchies; a belief that military spectacle entertained and exhilarated the local populous.[75] These assumptions lay on a cultural bedrock formed by the historic interconnections between martial effort and local identity that the Great War had furthered, rather than destroyed. When Lord Provost, Matthew Walker Montgomery, suggested that General Peyton (GOC Scottish

[73] Various local authorities in the north-east prevented school groups from attending the dress rehearsal of the tattoo for free. DCRO. D/DLI/2/17/3 Scrapbook 17th battalion Ravensworth Tattoo, Gateshead.

[74]John M Mackenzie, 'Empire and National Identities: the Case of Scotland', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 8 (1998), pp.215–31.

[75] David Enrico Omissi, 'The Hendon Air Pageant, 1920–1937' in JM Mackenzie (ed.), *Popular Imperialism and the Military* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992). Helen McCarthy has shown how the LNU worked with 'popular militarism' to further its centrist aims: Helen McCarthy, *The League of Nations and the British People: Democracy, citizenship and internationalism, c.1918–45* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), pp. 137–43.

Command) pen a 'private note' to the editor of the *Herald*, Sir Robert Bruce, because 'that has always seemed to be the most effective way of securing publicity', his assumptions of Bruce's political and cultural proclivities probably touched on all these aspects.[76]

In this, it is important to highlight the civic public sphere as a place where 'military memory' was constructed, irrespective of nudges provided by the activity of units or associations and the appeals of commanders. Coverage of each city's military communities, their rituals and remembrances, all of which will be examined in the third part of this thesis, found itself alongside other features, serialisations and other editorials, which evoked a local experience of war and martial effort, undergone before, as well as during, the war of 1914–18. Until digitisation comes to the local newspaper of the 20th century, rather than the earlier period that has thus far been the focus of these efforts, we cannot assess the extent of representation across these two decades, particularly over such a large terrain.[77] A few examples, drawn from different papers over the decades, indicate trends that would benefit for further research and elucidation. It is possible that the war story, as the story of local effort during times of crisis, was particularly useful for the purposes of identity construction for communities who may have felt their backs were against the wall in other ways.

In Newcastle, content drawn from the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle (NWC)* can provide some examples of the many ways local identity and war mythologies intersected. The paper published lengthy features for its Saturday audience, the kind estimated by the PEPC report as read by 70% of its readership.[78] In June 1930, the paper foregrounded a piece by a local journalist on Admiral Collingwood – 'our own naval hero, our beloved Northumbrian' – apparently inspired by nothing more than 'standing one bright Summer's day' on

[76] GCA. G1/1/87. Lord Provost Letter Books. 19/4/1926-4/11/1926, p.445.
[77] All major digitisation projects have focused on 18th- or 19th-century newspapers. Adrian Bingham, 'The Digitization of Newspaper Archives: Opportunities and Challenges for Historians' in *Twentieth Century British History*, 21 (2010), pp.225–31.
[78] *Report on the British Press,* p.258.

Tynemouth's headland next to the statue of the great man and looking out to sea.[79] Naval heroes did not have to be so grand to merit biographical treatment. Later that year, in the Armistice edition, the *NWC* included a 'Record of a Distinguished Son of Northumbria', Edward Rotherham, the scion of a Newcastle-based doctor and academic. He had pursued an ordinary career as an officer in the Royal Navy, but had the fame of having 'fought at Trafalgar', as the headline proudly underlined.[80] Both evoked a contribution to a glorious past.

War stories also unfolded through landscape, a popular focal point of interest in the paper that suited the middlebrow content of the features page. In 1934, for instance, the *NWC* published a piece by local journalist Margaret Hilman recording her visit to 'Historic Scremerston' in the borders area of Northumberland. Ostensibly a travel piece, it was also a record of the ways the populations had encountered war over the generations, from wars and border skirmishes with the Scots to the Great War; it was titled 'In Path of Scots Raiders'.[81] It would be interesting, in this respect, to examine the journalistic and editorial contribution of Theodore Brotchie to the *Citizen* and *Evening Times* during the Twenties, if that is possible. He would later publish histories (*The Battlefields of Scotland*) and guides for the growing hiking market, all of which teased out war narratives of the past from local sites.[82] The *Daily Record*'s publication of a series of articles of 'Decisive Battles in Scots History', which dragged over weeks in the *Daily Record* during the latter half of 1926 was written in the same vein.[83]

One of the more bizarre examples of the ways in which editorial strategies and the journalistic discourse could collide in ways that were favourable to military communities is suggested by the treatment of the Northumberland Fusiliers in the *Sunday Sun*. This was the least likely to report on the regiment out

[79] *NWC*, 14/06/1930, p.12.
[80] *NWC*, 15/11/1930, p.6.
[81] *NWC*, 17/11/1934, p.6.
[82] BMS 37, p.14. *Glasgow Herald*, 5/1/1937.
[83] *DR*, 10/11/1926, p.7.

of all of the city's papers. Occasionally, however, the regiment could become vehicles for its brand of sensationalism aimed at the city's working classes. In April 1933, the *Sun* marked the regimental day (St George's Day) not by reporting its parade or depot doings, as other papers did. Instead, regimental history was celebrated through a dramatic headline evoking the story of Phoebe Hessell, the 'FAMOUS WOMAN WARRIOR: ENLISTED SO THAT SHE COULD BE NEAR LOVER'.[84] This article included not only a recounting of the story of this legendary female veteran of the 5th, it also expounded on regimental traditions, and the shared history between the locality and regiment in 1914–18. In February the next year, the *Sun* dedicated its front page to a news story bearing the headline 'LOVE TRAIN TO MEET FUSILIERS'. This reported on what was actually a sober service organised by the corporation to unit members of the 2nd battalion with their relatives during the unit's brief stop over at Southampton.[85]

The effect of this material, in shaping the associations that local communities constructed surrounding the Great War, is unanswerable within the parameters of this thesis. Certainly, with so much of it concentrated in the period around Armistice Day, it added other layers to the acts of reflection on war's central meaning. Brigadier General Legget's articles in 1931, for instance, offered a far more confident assertion of the achievements of military performance and soldierly effort: it marked the 'ANNIVERSARY OF GALLANT DEEDS'.[86] The *Daily Record*'s articles penned by the Earl of Mar had reached their sixth and seventh manifestations in the Saturday preceding and following Armistice Day, focusing on the Siege of Leith (1559–60) and the Battle of Culloden (1746).[87] Here the war entered a historically grounded tradition of martial effort, which reached back into the centuries.

Like all historical studies that argue for the formative role of such cultural texts, the question of subjective interpretation is a central and often confounding

[84] *Sunday Sun*, 23/4/1933, p.7.
[85] *Sunday Sun*, 25/2/1934, p.1.
[86] *GEC*, 7/11/1931, p.8.
[87] *Daily Record,* 10/11/1926, p.7.

problem. In the case of military communities, it is possible to point to a set of source material that demonstrates how military communities responded to, valued and absorbed their representations within the civic press. That the manufacturers relied on the civic press to encapsulate a vision of the military group, one infused with belonging and purpose, can be seen in the way they co-opted these articles. Editors of regimental journals – the drivers of military identities, as David French has described – most often turned to the local newspaper to detail and celebrate the achievement of the regiment and its associated communities, rather than relying on its officers to pen reports for them. Not only did such insertions carry the cache of public reportage, they presented clear examples of military groups as social actors.

If we consider the *79th News*, the journal of the QOCH, we can appreciate the collage effect of journal reportage. Regimental branch-level news was most often encapsulated by the insertion of items from the local provincial, drawn from an array of productions that covered the various areas associated with the regiment: the *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, *Glasgow Herald*, *The Bulletin*, *Evening News*, *Inverness Courier*, *Arbroath Gazette*. The *St George's Gazette* likewise presented various local news relating to its various districts in addition to its Newcastle organs: *Morpeth Herald*, *Hexham Advertiser*, *Berwick & District Advertiser*, *Alnwick County Gazette.* As the editor of the 5th battalion's notes put it, in inserting the paper's laudatory description of its soldiery's performance during the unveiling of the Renwick Memorial in 1923, 'we can do no better than quote from the *Newcastle Chronicle*'.[88]

News items from the civic press also formed the backbone of a less systematised, but perhaps more important, project of military identity, one conducted at the corporate level as well as individual. Servicemen, veterans and commanding officers alike engaged with the project of scrapbooking to crystallise and realise identity on a number of levels, memorialising their

[88] *StGG*, 31/7/1923, p.112.

achievements through rafts of ephemera (dinner menus, concert programmes etc.), including a great deal of material excised from the pages of the civic press. The extent of this part-time, leisure occupation cannot be known. As scrapbooks constitute a good part of regimental and national military archives, inherited from units when disbanded, or reformed, as well as from a significant number of families, we can assume that it was a relatively common enterprise.

The Royal Highland Fusiliers Museum Archives in Glasgow, for instance, lists 89 scrapbooks in its collection and an additional 144 photograph albums, many of which inserted press cuttings alongside other mounted photographs.[89] This is suggestive of a reasonable activity: a good number would not, after all, have found their way into this or other archives, either through individual choice or archival directive. This is particularly the case for those treating peacetime service in the inter-war period. During the research for this thesis, for instance, Glasgow's Lowland Reserve centre stumbled across an old scrapbook authored by the TAA in the 1920s, which had been left on the shelf for decades.

So much of their concern, however, is the health of civic–military relations, specifically (in terms of the regiment), as well as broadly. And with page after page made of the stuff of local newspapers, each testifies to the importance of such productions for the sense of purpose and belonging that these identity makers were so intent of capturing. If we consider the Glasgow's TAA scrapbook [Figure 19] as an example, over 40 pages are covered with articles and photographs from various organs of the civic press detailing the massive recruitment drive of February 1921, which effectively marked reconstitution for Glasgow's Territorials. That these do not simply provide a record of what happened, rather should be considered as memorials to civic recognition, can be seen in the inclusion of multiple articles, from different publications, all reporting on the same events, as well as the foregrounding of editorials and other comments pieces. Another volunteer scrapbook, probably collated by the

[89] RHFMA. Library Catalogue.

14

Herald Saturday 5th March

THE TERRITORIALS

GLASGOW RECRUITING EFFORT

The intensive campaign to secure recruits for the Glasgow Territorial units which has been conducted in the city during the past fortnight closes to-day. Up till Thursday night, the latest period for which figures are available, the number of men who have enlisted in the various units of the Force in the course of the campaign totalled 1700, and there were in addition 165 men on the register awaiting medical examination. On Thursday the number of men who joined up was 97. This was below the average for previous days, which was probably accounted for by the fact that half of the Glasgow units were taking part in the recruiting rally at the Coliseum on that evening. As a result of that special effort and the campaign which preceded it the figures for yesterday and to-day are expected to show a considerable augmentation, and it is hoped with confidence that the good effect upon enrolments which the movement has received from the stimulus of the past two weeks will continue and that the Glasgow units will ere long be brought up to the full strength of their establishment. So far the city heads the list for recruits for the new Territorial Force, and every effort will be made to maintain that position. During the first week 861 men enrolled, and the daily figures for this week till Thursday are as follow:—Monday, 300; Tuesday, 204; Wednesday, 238; Thursday, 97. As part of the recruiting effort a variety of social and sporting events were held last night at the headquarters of the different units. Several members of the Territorial Force Association visited the various drill halls and delivered short stimulating addresses at intervals in the proceedings, and others made the appeal for recruits for the Territorials at places of public entertainment.

Citizen 5th March

RECRUITING CAMPAIGN.

HOPES OF GLASGOW HEADING LIST.

The recruiting campaign in connection with the Glasgow Territorials entered upon its last stage to-day, and it is expected, when the final figures for the whole country are made known, that Glasgow, if not actually at the head of the list, will be very near to it.

Yesterday's efforts brought in 165 recruits, making the total up to last night 1865, an addition to which there are 119 men awaiting examination. The Yeomanry is now at full strength. The various regiments recruited yesterday as follows:—R.F.A., 35; 8th Cameronians, 23; 7th H.L.I., 18; 7th Cameronians, 15; 5th Cameronians, 12; 9th H.L.I., 12; Yeomanry, 11; 6th H.L.I., 10; 5th H.L.I., 6; Divisional Signals, 8; R.A.M.C., 6; Corps Signals, 4; Bridging Co., 3.

Times, 5th March

'SHUN!

Host of Recruits for the R.A.M.C.

UNIT OF PALS.

(By a "Times" Man.)

It is said that the call of the sea exerts a powerful influence upon the seaman, making continued existence upon land unbearable. That may be so, but I am certain this peculiar power is no stronger than what we "sodgers" term the call o' the "bunnet" or the kilt, whatever we fancy. It is the combined call of the open air, healthy exercise, self-discipline, and, especially where the "Terriers" are concerned, the prospect of a pleasant spell under canvas at some resort or other during the warmest and brightest days of the year. Many a "kiltie" vowed that he would never again wear "breeks," only to don them with the rest of us on demobilisation. So it is with all our resolutions and fancies.

Up Yorkhill way, the headquarters of the 1st and 2nd Lowland Field Ambulance and the 52nd Casualty Clearing Station (R.A.M.C.), recruiting is proceeding briskly. Last night an excellent boxing programme was witnessed by a large and appreciative audience, from whom many promising recruits were afterwards drawn. Willie Woods, Jack Turner, James Lafferty, and other champions gave lively exhibition bouts, in addition to a novice competition. Lieut.-Colonel H. Wright Thompson, D.S.O., T.D., the O.C., is to be complimented for providing such an enjoyable programme. In the course of the proceedings Colonel R. H. M. Connell of the Territorial Association, looked in, found everybody deeply interested, and added a "turn"—in the form of a few remarks—himself.

The Work of the Red Cross.

The R.A.M.C. cannot boast about the number of guns they have captured or the myriads of prisoners they have brought back to the cages. Theirs was a more humane task, essential to the wellbeing of every soldier, whether at home or abroad. Any of us who have lain out in the desert of "no man's land," unable to move and practically at the mercy of snipers and gunners, will ever harbour a kindly corner of our hearts for the boys who risked everything, without being able to retaliate in any way, in order that we might be brought to the comparative safety of the clearing station.

The Yorkhill Units.

Whenever Gallipoli is mentioned, the 2nd Lowland Field Ambulance will be remembered, for it was there that the unit was blooded to the war. Through the latter half of that tragic campaign it shared to the full the few joys and the many sorrows of Cape Helles, and eventually took part in the final evacuation of the peninsula, the last party of the Ambulance leaving in the last destroyer. Later they tramped across Sinai and into Southern Palestine with the H.L.I. Brigade. All that is necessary to say of the 1st Field Ambulance is that they were a unit of the 52nd Division, which won the honoured position of fourth most "frightful" division in the British Army. They also participated in the Gallipoli fighting. "Stick it" was their watchword, and "stick it" they did until the "Cease fire" was sounded. The 52nd Casualty Clearing Station took part in many campaigns "East of Suez," and fought a hard battle against dysentery, plague, and fever. The list of decorations awarded to these units is large considering their size, and certainly something to boast about.

A Happy Crowd.

A knowledge of first aid, especially the knowledge imparted by the R.A.M.C., is invaluable. Little incidents are constantly cropping up, and one never knows when more serious affairs will occur when a life may depend upon one's skill. It is always comforting to know that one is prepared for all emergencies.

My advice to all who are hesitating [illegible]

News, 5th March

THE CAMERONIANS.

PLEA FOR THE OLD NAME

POINTS IN ITS FAVOUR.

(News Special.)

It may have been remarked that during the course of the Territorial Recruiting Campaign one of the regiments most popular in Glasgow has been referred to as the "Scottish Rifles," and while, it is the case that many accept that title readily, and even prefer it to the older name "The Cameronians," there are others who regret that the old title is not still given pride of place. The Colonel of one battalion justifies his use of the designation "Scottish Rifles" on the grounds that the other is apt to lead to confusion in the public mind. There being the Cameron Highlanders whom people in error—probably stupid and unpardonable error—immediately think of when they hear the term "Cameronians" used.

Mr J. C. Black, Convener of the British Services Committee of The St. Andrew Society (Glasgow) writing on this subject however, puts forward a strong plea for the old name. He writes:—

"I, together with many others, experience very great disappointment that when, in your highly interesting references to the local battalions of a gallant regiment, the bad example of past War Office chiefs is followed in designating them 'Scottish Rifles' their secondary title—instead of 'Camerotians,' their proper title, which they have borne since that day in 1689 when the regiment was raised in Douglasdale all in one day without bounty or advertisement, a title that carries with it the continuous historic associations of over two and a quarter centuries. The secondary title, Scottish Rifles, created after the linking of the 26th and 90th Regiments, is one that has never been popular with the officers and men of the regiment; neither are the people of its territorial area enamoured of it. The officers of the line battalions have repeatedly protested against its use as a primary title, and much is it disliked by the 7th Battalion in particular that it has ever been a point of honour with them to style themselves as they are entitled, 'The Cameronians,' a title they proudly display on the flag floating over their drill hall.

"The title Scottish Rifles was coined, please the late General Sir Evelyn Wood, officer of the Perthshire Light Infantry, who did not relish the idea of his old unit being extinguished that it might become the second battalion of another regiment and adopt the latter's designation.

"To meet the objections of the officers of the 90th, a brand new title, 'The Scottish Rifles' was coined, and the mullet of the Cameronians—badge of the Douglasses—and bugle of the 90th were conjoined within a thistle wreath to form a new united badge. This title proving immensely unpopular did not long survive. A reversion was made to the original title of the first battalion as the regiment's primary designation, and the term 'Scottish Rifles' bestowed upon it as a second name. The War Office chiefs, however, time after time did their utmost to submerge the ancient name and elevate the new title to pride of place, going so far indeed as to remove the title 'Cameronians' from the men's shoulder straps and substitute the letters S. The culmination came in the early months of the war when the officers of the regiment were prohibited from using in official correspondence the title 'Cameronian,' and ordered to use Scottish Rifles instead, also with official reports of casualties suffered by the regiment during the war

Figure 19 Glasgow TAA Scrapbook, 1921.

commander of the RNVR in Newcastle, presents a similar emphasis over the period.

The volunteer association or officer, already grounded in the locality, may have naturally found these productions more meaningful. The tendency is also visible, however, in the case of Regulars. Scrapbook N19 [Figure 21], belonging to the Royal Scots Fusiliers, whose archives are also held by the RHFMA, presents an interesting example of this peacetime cultural effort. Two battalions of RSF spent a good part of the Twenties lodged at Maryhill and undertaking various training and other recruitment exercises across the country – a period that the scrapbook largely treats. Although it is impossible to suggest authorship, it may well be a project that was passed over to successive officers of the battalion during that time, maybe those based temporarily at the depot. Another photoalbum [Figure 20], belonging to the HLI during a period in which neither battalion resided at Maryhill, present a similar concern for the moments when regimental identity manifested itself in the civic press.

Little has been written on the inter-war practice of scrapbooking. Historians have generally found in scrapbooks useful archival research tools rather than fascinating sources of identity construction. Terry Dennett has written about the Labour movement's use of album-making, both as a way of realising a political identity and a unified programme, but also as a way of projecting identity and promoting intercourse with other international working man's organisations.[90] Some of this archival material suggests a similar purpose: these were the productions of officers, those in charge of steering military identity in important ways. It is difficult to think they were unconnected from the politics of the regiment, although has proved hard to uncover their use in this respect. Even if the aim was to simply frame existence for the purpose of future 'memory work' (whether by the group, the individual or the relative) it is worth noting that scrapbooks enshrined the discursive practices of the civic press, which cast a

[90] Terry Dennett, 'Popular photography and Labour albums' in Jo Spence and Patricia Holland (eds.), *Family Snaps: The meanings of domestic photography* (London: Virago, 1991), pp.72–83.

bright, positive haze over military life.[91] From this vantage point, the military did not spend the inter-war years stuck in the doldrums of national life.

[91] Kuhn's analysis of how 'remembering works and how it is expressed through memory texts' is interesting to consider when it comes to the scrapbooks of military life. Annette Kuhn, *Family Secrets: Acts of memory and imagination* (London: Verso, 2002), pp.6, 7 and 1–10.

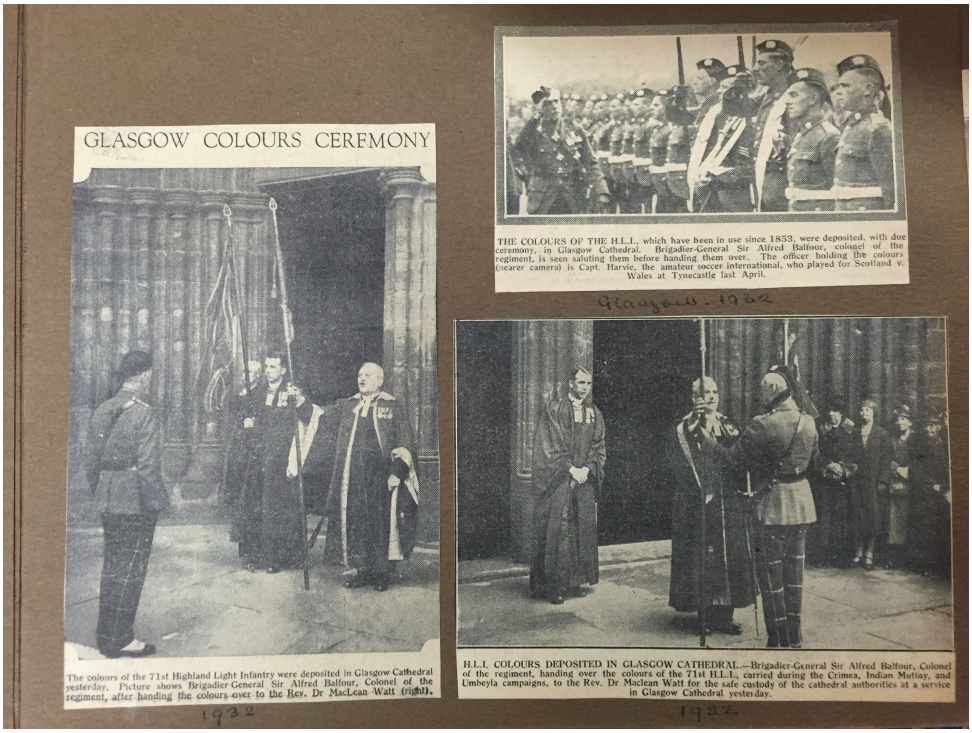

Figure 20 HLI Photograph Album RHFMA 058: 2nd battalion, HLI, 1926-32.

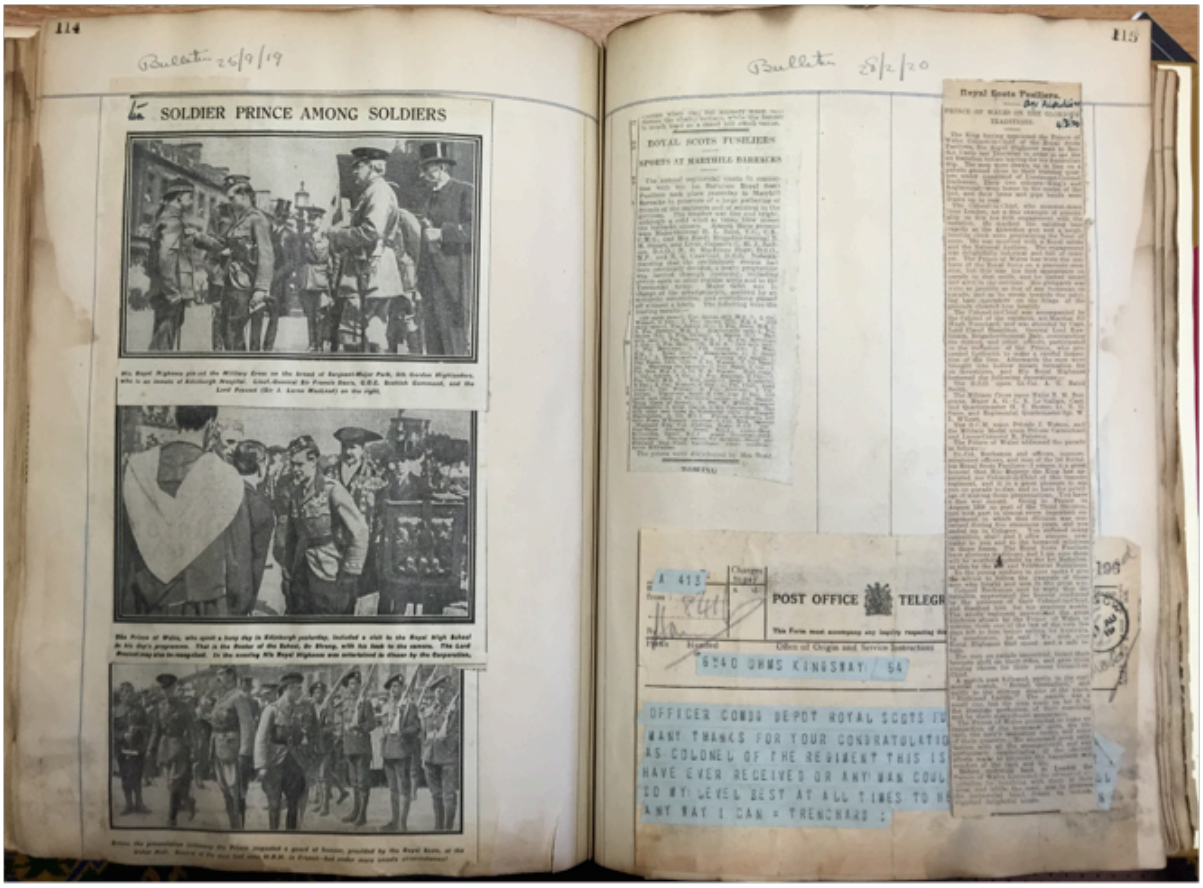

Figure 21 Royal Scots Fusiliers Scrapbook. RHFMA N19.

Part III

Performance:

Military Identity and Military Memory

Part III furthers the analysis of these cities' politics and public spheres by focusing on performances of military identity within urban space. For military communities, ceremonial parades through streets, and wreath laying at monuments, were important moments to establish and exemplify civic–military bonds. The street and the war memorial were not, however, the only spaces in which the military wrote notions of belonging. Leisure and recreational spaces, increasingly important in urban life, became spaces to articulate bonds of comradeship and belonging. Much of this activity appealed to the memory of martial action in the Great War. The construction of a public 'military memory' of war was a sectional enterprise, but it was

not insular. Outside of the Armistice calendar, where 'never again' provided the central meaning of war, local citizens encountered other mythologies in their public spaces. These uttered a more confident, though not unshakeable, belief in the worth and justification of military action.

Chapter 5

Ceremonial Spaces: Streets, Squares and War Memorials

Localisation of military regiments, and the civic legitimation of service identities, resulted from a set of cultural processes: rituals and acts that linked the military with the civic body and were reaffirmed each year. It was an on-going project, undertaken within changing historical climates. Like generations of local groups before them, military communities looked to local ceremonial spaces (the street, the square and the war memorial) to promote their claims for recognition and local belonging. This chapter shows how the acts of civic elites and the civic press combined to realise and articulate the bonds between local and military societies through the constructions of representations that validated military groups. This was communicated performatively, building on established traditions of civic ritual, but also through the imaginary spaces of the civic press. Much of this work centred on war memory, as wreath laying around war memorials intertwined the dead of the regiment and city in deathly solidarity. As opportunities for public activity gradually

dwindled in the wake of mechanisation, these performances became more crucial as articulators of local sympathy and belonging.

Military Parades in Urban Spaces, c.1919–35

Glasgow's Territorial Parade

From 1924, Glasgow's Territorial Army parade, a pre-war volunteer ritual, returned as an annual military–civic event. The whole of the city's forces, numbering between 2,500-4,000 depending on establishment and strength (and attendance), joined together for public and civic recognition of their place and purpose. Held in St Andrew's Halls, the corporation's main public functions hall, the setting bestowed an indelible civic character on the event, whether intentionally or not: Glasgow's cathedral was not big enough to accommodate all troops. The civic element was furthered by the post-service parade. Troops marched through the city's streets on a prolonged route to Blythswood Square. Here the Lord Provost, as Lord Lieutenant and President of the Territorial Army Association, stood on a platform and took the salute of the men as they marched past. Individual units then conducted their own parades through the city's streets to their headquarters.

Glasgow's parade had a definite civic character bestowed upon it by the active participation of civic elites, including the civic press. It may not have been the civic manifestation witnessed around the cenotaph on Armistice Day. There were no magistrates and few corporation officials in attendance: in 1924, for instance, the only office holder noted beside the Lord Provost on the saluting platform

was the city's assessor.[515] Others stepped into the breach, and participants who sanctioned Glasgow's military life included a line of Deputy Lieutenants, and all former Lord Provosts, individually named; industrial and commercial elites, as well as others connected with the city's public life. These included: Sir Robert Wilson, owner of local printing works and leader of the Chamber of Commerce; Sir Donald McAllister, Glasgow University's respected Chancellor; Sir John Reid, Director of North British Locomotive Company; and Mr J B Couper, local shipping magnate. A scattering of Unionist MPs, notably John Train (MP for Cathcart from 1929), gave the parade further weight.

In 1935, when the first socialist Lord Provost made his debut at the Armistice ceremonial, much debate focused on the uniform of the Lord Lieutenant: 'militarist' in the eyes of the Left.[516] The Lieutenancy itself was not a military position: it was a civil appointment, with military origins, that had been co-opted for military purposes by Haldane in the creation of the Territorial Associations. The joint office of the Lord Provost and Lord Lieutenant remained ambiguous in the reportage. If it was noted, and it frequently was, that the Lord Provost wore his uniform, it was rarely stated that he reviewed his troops 'in his capacity as Lord Lieutenant'.[517] Reportage simplified both imagery and discourse on the matter, frequently omitting the fact of joint office. Sub-headlines of the ilk of the *Daily Record*'s 'The Lord

[515] *Bulletin*, 7/6/1924, p.10. *DR*, 9/6/1924, p.7.
[516] *GH*, 11/11/1935, p.4
[517] *GH*, 23/4/1928, p.7.

Provost takes Salute' promoted the civic claims of the parade above others.[518] Captions of the many photographs of the parade generated similar descriptions. In 1929, the *Evening Citizen*'s front page simply noted that the 'Lord Provost David Mason is seen taking the salute at the march past'; in 1932, the *Bulletin* interpreted a similar scene with a simpler slogan: 'the Terriers march past the Lord Provost.'[519]

Newspapers consistently depicted a civic event with real public relevance, although the *Record* and *Bulletin* were both more likely to project it via a photograph spread [Figure 22}. The *Glasgow Herald* asserted confidently in 1933 that the parade was 'one of the spectacular events in Glasgow's calendar which attracts considerable public interest'.[520] Reports focused on the large numbers: the *Record* recorded 5,000 gathered at the march past in 1925, filling the square to capacity, with 'large crowds' lining the other streets of the parade;[521] in 1930, the *Bulletin* described the 'principal streets leading to Blythswood Square…thronged with thousands of people'.[522] The next year, the *Herald* noticed 'thousands' along Bath Street and a 'dense crowd' in the Square, which was hard to navigate.[523] To provide some context, the Territorial Parade certainly amassed fewer spectators than other moments of mass parades that characterised the city's calendar, although exact numbers were, of course, slippery. In 1933, the *Citizen* reported the May Day

[518] *DR*, 25/4/1927, p.9.
[519] *Bulletin*, 27/6/1932, p.6.
[520] *GH*, 1/5/1933, p.8.
[521] *DR*, 20/4/1925, p.7.
[522] *Bulletin*, 12/5/1930, p.28.
[523] *GH*, 8/6/1931, p.5.

GLASGOW TERRITORIALS' CHURCH PARADE.—Glasgow territorials marching past the saluting base in Blythswood Square after their church parade to St. Andrew's Hall. Lord Provost Sir Matthew M. Montgomery, Lord-Lieutenant, taking the salute.

Figure 22 Glasgow's Territorial Parade 1926.

[*DR*, 29/3/1926, p.24]

demonstration of 5,000 Communist, ILP, NUWM and other participants (greeted by another 10,000 in George Square) – although this was during a time of particular economic distress.[524] The parade was also well under the crowd numbers mustered by the Orange Lodges. In 1929, the *Bulletin* estimated these at between 20,000-30,000 within the marching lines alone, excluding spectators.[525]

But exact numbers mattered little. Crowd interest was enough to generate a feeling of loyal support on the ground, and feed a discourse of civic observance in the press. Whether this was important for the men themselves is lost to the historical record. But it was for those who were charged with oiling the military machine. The Sergeants Mess of the 9th HLI emphasised both feelings of pride, reached through civic recognition, which both rewarded men for work well done and inspired them to achieve further:

> I feel sure our respected Lord Provost felt very proud of his citizens when, standing by General Braithwaite, he took the salute. We who were on the parade saw little of it, but from the point of view of the many thousands of spectators who lined the route the parade was excellent. I feel sure that every Officer, NCO, and man of each unit felt proud of himself, his company and his corps, and long may that feeling of pride continue.[526]

The Territorial parade was the appraisal of local military effort. National military purpose was rarely touched on. Each year, the Lord Provost sent an official letter of congratulations to the Territorial

[524] *GEC*, 1/5/1933, p.5.
[525] *Bulletin*, 8/7/1929, p.9.
[526] *HLIC*, July 1924, p.185.

Association addressed to all officers, NCOs and men of the units, praising the smartness of their appearance and the quality of their discipline, a message relayed through military ranks.[527] But the judgement was also public, with newspapers reckoning local achievement: an 80% strength deserved mention for the *Record* in 1925.[528] The first appearance of No. 602 Bomber Squadron at the parade in 1926 generated comments of satisfaction of their 'general appearance' that 'augurs well for the future'.[529] Most reportage cast the crowd as the judge. In 1925, the *Record* declared that throughout the route 'general approval was expressed with the appearance and bearing of the men'.[530] Even in 1932, a low point in the history of the Territorial Army during the years with the cancellation of camp, the *Herald* inferred vitality through the marching lines of men:

> 'the general appearance of the parade was indication enough that the Territorial movement in the city, despite the setbacks of the past year or two, is maintaining both efficiency and enthusiasm and that it had, moreover, the sympathy and interest of the citizens.'[531]

Photographically, press coverage represented the parade in scenes that underlined the affiliations between military units, local spaces and hierarchies. These took three forms: contingents entering St Andrew's Hall; group photographs of the Lord Provost and various military officers; the act of march past and salute. The civic

[527] NAS.MD10/33. Glasgow TAA Minutes. Meeting 28/6/1932.
[528] *DR*, 20/4/1925, p.7.
[529] *Bulletin*, 29/03/1926, p.3.
[530] *DR*, 20/4/1925, p.7
[531] *GH*, 5/6/1932, p.5.

press employed this latter representation the most frequently, placing greatest prominence on the moment [Figure 22]. In 1926 and 1933, for instance, variations of the image represented the entire pictorial representation of the parade in both the *Bulletin* and the *Record*.[532] This simple image encapsulated service offered and recognised, locating the military within local hierarchies and through civic leadership. It sidestepped the national role of the Territorials, locating its legitimacy firmly within local society.

Newcastle-on-Tyne's St George's Day and other Parades, 1919–35.

Newcastle had no single equivalent to Glasgow's Territorial parade: it was more prodigious in its production of military marches than the 'second city'. The event recognised as the city's main military event was the parade held by the Northumberland Fusiliers on or around St George's Day in the observance of the regiment's patron saint. This had always been marked a colours parade in the regiment, wherever its battalions happened to be. Before the war, the depot had held a service in St Nicholas, usually with civic attendance. In the immediate post-war years, this transformed into a highly public military parade that garnered civic patronage throughout the two decades.

The metamorphosis emanated from the infrastructural changes between military and locality. The parade in 1919, held on St George's Day, occurred within the context of demobilisation, where numbers within barracks and the impetus to celebrate returning troops were both still high: participants included regular troops from the barracks

[532] *Bulletin*, 29/03/1926, p.17, 5/6/1933, p.14. *DR*, 29/3/1926, p.24, 5/6/1933, p.16.

(not only Fusiliers but also artillery) and demobilised men of the service battalions organised in contingents.[533] After this, the depot retained a public parade on the anniversary. The enthusiasm demonstrated here probably inspired the Territorials to perform their own rituals post-reconstitution, either on the Sunday before or after the main event: the 6th Northumberland Fusiliers held a church parade at St Nicholas cathedral, followed by a march through the city; the 5th battalion's service in Walker parish church was followed (after their memorial's unveiling in 1923) with a parade to the memorial.

With its training role confirmed from 1922–3, the depot retained the motivation to parade – another routine for new soldiery – but its numbers were hardly on the levels of the immediate post-war years. That they mustered far less in terms of numbers than the Territorials probably created the background for the decision to merge the two in a Sunday observance. Squads of depot recruits, numbering usually in the region of 120, joined the 6th battalion on a parade to and from St Nicholas cathedral. They marched through the streets, headed by regimental colours. Each fusilier wore red and white roses, a privilege bestowed upon the regiment for the day of its patron saint. They honoured the regimental dead through public wreath laying at the South Africa war memorial at the Haymarket, as well as the 6th battalion's war memorial in St Thomas's churchyard. The regiment reserved the pinnacle of ceremonial occasion for Eldon Square, where it and its various components paid tribute to the dead. This was a

[533] *Evening Chronicle*, 23/4/1919, p.6. *NJ*, 24/4/1919, p.5.

significant articulation of military identity within city space. The *North Mail* argued that it should be compared to 'Military Sunday' at York, a particularly grandiose military occasion.[534]

Like the Territorial parade, the event incurred significant civic meaning through the acts and performances of its elite and the representations made by the press [Figures 23 and Figure 24]. Not one of Newcastle's publications failed to provide coverage in the inter-war years and participation of the civic chief and the city's other elite was guaranteed, at least until 1936. The Lord Mayor dispensed the red and white roses to the troops, a picturesque scene that caught the imagination of more than one newspaper. The city's three-pronged civic leadership attended the cathedral in robes of state, accompanied by sword and macebearers. That 'civic chiefs attend cathedral'[535], making this 'civic tribute'[536] to the regiment and its head, offering 'civic support'[537] to the military of the city was a crucial part of newspaper discourse.

Alongside a high-ranking commander (usually the commanding officer of either the 50th Division or 149th Brigade), the Lord Mayor stood on the platform of the Stephenson monument and took the salute as the troops marched from the cathedral to Eldon Square. It was a meaningful act that located the military

[534] *NM*, 24/4/1924, p.7.
[535] *NM*, 23/04/1928, p.9.
[536] *NM* 24/4/1933, p.11.
[537] *NJ*, 24/4/1935, p.9.

Figure 23 Lord Mayor, Dr Joseph Leech, dispensing the roses during St George's Day ceremonials. [*NM,* 24/4/1933, p.11.]

St. George's Day

THE LORD MAYOR OF NEWCASTLE (Dr. J. W. Leech, M.P.) distributing roses at the St. George's Day parade to St. Nicholas' Cathedral yesterday.

Figure 24 St Georges Day parade 1931.

Labour's first Lord Mayor, David Adams, taking the salute at the Stephenson monument. [FMA photograph collection, taken from the *NJ* 27/4/1931]

within the hierarchies of local government and within city heritage – this was one of its most prominent landmarks and a proud assertion of civic identity. Moreover, this civic observance assumed its own character. From the early Twenties, the Lord Mayor customarily laid wreaths on the day of the 23rd at three of the city's war memorials associated with the Northumberland Fusiliers: the South Africa war Memorial, the 6th battalion's monument and the Renwick memorial ('The Response').

Like the Territorial parade in Glasgow, press coverage offered further validation and sanction. This was particularly evident in its treatment of depot recruits. In 1925, for instance, the *Mail* underlined that the 'men marched well, and in the brilliant sunshine presented an appearance of smartness which suggested longer service and indicated the excellence of their training'.[538] Crowd behaviour and attendance, too, provided a narrative of hearty public engagement, although numbers were typically inexact. The three major publications pointed numbers into the 'thousands' in central Newcastle for the parades of the regulars and the 6th battalion.[539] Territorial achievement and merit was further rewarded in the coverage of the various post-parade ceremonies held by the 5th and 6th battalions in the award of Territorial Efficiency Medals (TEM), long service, or sports trophies. These appended the newspaper reportage, with the recipients often receiving individual notice. In 1924, for instance, the *Illustrated Chronicle* listed all men awarded

[538] *NM*, 24/4/1924, p.7.
[539] See, for example, *NWC*, 30/4/1921, p.11. *NM* 25/4/1932, p. 8; *NJ*, 25/5/1932, p.5.

prizes for the miniature rifle competition, as well as the winner of the Sergeants Challenge Shield.[540] Medals' recipients were listed in all reports of the *Chronicle* from 1925 onwards.

The effort of regimental validation also extended further than the city-based units. The reports of the activities of the regulars also warranted some press treatment. From 1929–35 the presence of the Fusiliers in the newspaper was further entrenched by the significant coverage offered to the regular battalions who were successively posted at York during those years. The trooping of the colours enacted by the 1st and 2nd battalions during these years provided yet another opportunity to ruminate on the efficiency and discipline of the county regiment. In 1929, the onlookers depicted in the *North Mail* 'marvelled at the …precision of the famous slow time march', whilst the *Journal* judged the event a 'fine spectacular display of disciplined efficiency' – this phrase would be resurrected for all coverage in subsequent years.[541] In 1935, the last year of the 2nd battalion at York, the *Mail* asserted the performance demonstrated that 'the Army today [was] as good as ever':

> 'Whether in the march past or advance in review order, the battalion kept a perfect alignment and what particularly impressed me was the remarkable line kept by band and drums as they moved across the front at the slow march, counter marched and then returned at the quick step.'[542]

[540] *Illustrated Chronicle*, 28/4/1924, p.2.
[541] *NM* 22/4/1929, p.5. *NJ* 22/4/1929, p.12.
[542] *NM* 29/4/1935, p.5.

The Northumberland Fusiliers were not the only unit to write notions of belonging onto city space, nor were they the singular recipients of civic largesse. The city's other major volunteer units – RNVR, RE, RA –asserted their claims for recognition within city space, all of which were met by the civic elites [See Figure 25]. These enlivened Newcastle's public and ritual life in the early summer months, making the period from late April to June particularly touched by military or naval spectacle. Civic participation usually encompassed an inspection of the troops, conducted with the commander of each unit, a moment that was a particular focus of photographic coverage. Like the Northumberland Fusiliers, the finale of each performance was held around the war memorial in Eldon Square for the customary tribute.

Civic participation made these military rituals city events. The fact that these bonds were renewed and reiterated with such vigour says a great deal about civic politics and economic circumstances in Newcastle during these years. The St George's Day parade was, after all, an invention of the inter-war decades and another example of Mayoral autonomy: it was the civic chief who ordered the mace and sword bearers, and marshalled the other members of the council.[543] Each year it could be infused with different purposes that gave it momentum and meaning.

This is shown particularly clearly in 1925 when the Envoy and Minister of the Argentine Republic, Dr Don Jose Evaristo Uribu,

[543] TWA. MD.NC/D/3/7/9. Lord Mayor Letter Books. 89. 16/4/1929-10/6/1929, pp.7–9. Letters from the Lord Mayor's secretary regarding the St George's parade organisation.

Figure 25 Press photographs of the RNVR parade (Thirties)

[TWA.AF.RNR.1/1577/33]

KBE, paid Newcastle a visit. He was touring specific parts of the UK to nurture trade relations and was treated with all the panoply due to a potential customer with money to spend. The programme arranged for his four-day visit included: a whirlwind tour of Tyneside's shipyards and armaments workshops (Argentina's Navy had already been a good customer); a series of civic luncheons and dances, with Newcastle's political and business elite; the presentation of honorary membership from the President of the North East Coast Institution; and glossy ephemera of the visit in the form of programmes and menu cards.[544] The parade rounded off these festivities with the Minister offered the spectacle of Newcastle's troops, to underline the city's claims to national and international prestige.[545] Four years later, the visit of the Lord Mayor of London, which again occasioned great celebration of the city and its capabilities, was similarly punctuated by the march.[546]

If the parade, like other moments of civic–militarism, evoked notions of the city's power and affirmed the status of the Lord Mayor, there are other political meanings within these performances that cannot be ignored. Urban historians have tended to seek the invisible, Foucauldian aspects of governance within city life. Sometimes strong government was displayed far less ambiguously. In 1921, for instance, at the height of the coal crisis, the Lord Mayor

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[544] TWA.2401/30/2, pp.4–6. Luncheon in Honour of the Visit to His Excellency the Argentine Minister; Official Programme of the City and County of Newcastle upon Tyne, Visit of His Excellency the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Argentine Republic in Great Britain. *Newcastle Daily Journal,* 2/4/1925.

[545] *NWC*, 25/4/1925, p.10.

[546] *NM*, 22/4/1929, p.5. *NJ* 22/4/1929, p.12.

ST. GEORGE'S DAY : AT THE CITY WAR MEMORIAL

St. George's Day was celebrated in time-honoured fashion in Newcastle. Our picture shows Major-General Sir Percy S. Wilkinson (left), the Argentine Minister, and the Lord Mayor (Alderman Walter Lee) at the City War Memorial, Eldon Square, where wreaths were deposited in memory of the gallant dead.

Figure 26 The Argentine Minister at the St George's Day parade, 1925,

{*NJ*, 24/4/1925, p.7.

Illustrated Chronicle, Monday, April 25, 1921.

MAKING GERMANY PAY: CONFERENCE OF THE PREMIERS.

Illustrated Chronicle

THE NORTH OF ENGLAND DAILY PAPER WITH ALL THE NEWS AND PICTURES.

No. 3,435. [Registered as a Newspaper] MONDAY, APRIL 25, 1921. (12 Pages.) ONE PENNY.

ST. GEORGE'S DAY CELEBRATIONS IN NEWCASTLE.

The bugle band sounding the "Last Post."

The naval men's floral tribute.

Colonels Sir C. Parsons, K.C.B., J. Reed, Sir Johnstone Wallace, K. B.E., and Sir Thomas Oliver.

Lord Mayor, Sheriff (on left) and Major-General Wilkinson are among those seen.

Laying Tyneside Irish and Scottish wreaths on the plinth.

Colonels Sir Thomas Oliver and Joseph Reed, of the Tyneside Scottish Brigade.

Northumberland Fusiliers from the depot with floral tributes which they took to the Cathedral.

Major-General Wilkinson (extreme left) takes the salute at the march past.

The scene in the vicinity of the War Memorial in Barras Bridge, Newcastle, on Saturday (St. George's Day) was a striking one. Hundreds of soldiers—past and present—were on parade, along with a detachment from the Nore Battalion of the naval service. The Lord Mayor laid a beautiful wreath on the plinth, and this was followed by others, until the base of the memorial presented a really pretty appearance. Major-General Sir Percy Wilkinson, K.C.M.G., C.B., took the salute at the march past, and a service was afterwards held in the Cathedral. ("I.C." photos.)

Figure 27 Front page of the *Illustrated Chronicle* April 1921.

took the salute as the lines of Fusiliers marched past the Stephenson monument. These included those publicly distinguished (by dint of their armbands) and identified in press coverage as members of the Defence Force.[547] In general, civic militarism did not invoke threat, but it regularly and customarily underlined concerns for social order that ran a seam of steel through the project of civic identity during this period {Figure 27].

All of these are prime examples of 'invented tradition', forged by a largely conservative-minded middle-class elite to assert civic power and underscore their vision of the city.[548] They belonged truly to the inter-war period, building on an inheritance from the city's Liberal past, but establishing new customs and rituals suited for the time. Each parade, sometimes accompanied by a précis of events, was entered into the 'City Record' each year without fail, a public acknowledgement of the importance of military and naval force in public life, as was the wreath laying. The habitual press coverage signified the civic import of the duties, which had gradually assumed the status of 'tradition'. By 1935, the *North Mail* described it as the 'customary ceremony of observing St George's Day'.[549]

Labour would have found it difficult to disconnect these parades from civic office, even if it had wanted to, but particularly from its relatively weak position. In 1929, for instance, during the visit of the Lord Mayor of London, all of Labour's most prominent councillors

[547] *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 25/4/1921, p.7.
[548] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, pp.1–13.
[549] *NM*, 29/4/1935, p.5.

were listed in attendance, although the paper did not use party labels. This included: the party's Chairman, T K Knight; John Moore, by then one of the party's two members who had ever held civic office; and Mrs Catherine Auld, who had represented Byker since 1923.[550] The tendency of newspaper reports not to name councillors, suggests that such attendance was newsworthy, necessitated by the need to show that the party counted at this high moment of civic celebration.

Labour's sanction of local troops, however, became more marked when its first representative assumed civic office in 1930. There was no question of disturbance in the ritual regularity of military spectacle. He took the salute at Stephenson's monument, inspected troops and performed much like civic leaders had done before him.[551] His surviving correspondence to Viscount Allendale, in the organisation of the Northumberland Hussars parade, is interesting in this respect. Adams promises to attend with mace and sword bearers, suggesting that the Sheriff, and 'such other members of the council as may be able to support him' would also be brought on board.[552]

This engagement may demonstrate how a spectrum of political beliefs could accommodate the fact of the military within national life.[553] Imperialism, to which the armed forces were closely tied, was

[550] *NJ* 22/4/1929, p.12.
[551] *NJ*, 27/4/1931, p.4. *NM*, 27/4/1931, p.4. The Sheriff took the salute and inspected the RNVR parade, see *NJ*, 8/6/1931, p. 5. *EC*, 8/7/1931, p.9.
[552] TWA. MD.NC/D/3/7/9. Lord Mayor Letter Books. 98. 18/9/1931-28/12/1931, p.114.
[553] Helen McCarthy, *The British People and the League of Nations: Democracy, Citizenship, and Internationalism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).

not incompatible with Labour politics.[554] Adams, for instance, assumed the central saluting role in the annual Empire Parade without difficulty: he coordinated all elements as expected, writing a personal letter of thanks to Lieut. Col. G E Wilkinson for acting as parade commander and for 'his practical interest….which adds greatly to the status of the movement'.[555]That Labour leaders also assumed the mantle of military involvement when they took civic seat, as a matter of course, even when there was no institutional imperative to do so, also says much about civic culture and how the party would adapt to rule. It would be a Labour Lord Mayor who would present the first, and only, challenge to civic–militarism in 1936. As will be discussed in Part IV, he would not budge the military from their place in the civic sun.

Armistice Day, 1919–c.1935

These parades demonstrate that performances within memorial spaces could be significant in grounding military and naval units within urban life. Armistice Day stands out as a particularly crucial commemorative space in which the military could express and perform notions of local belonging, juxtaposed to the national level of the Cenotaph where military participation was subject to doubt and criticism.[556] In taking this viewpoint, this research has placed a different emphasis on the importance of the local ritual than has hitherto been presented either within the historiography of

[554] Neville Kirk, *Labour and the Politics of Empire: Britain and Australia 1900 to the Present* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).
[555] TWA. MD.NC/D/3/7/8. Lord Mayor Letter Books. 97. 7/5/1931-19/9/1931, p.506.
[556] Gregory, *Silence of Memory*, p.152.

commemoration or inter-war urban public life. Adrian Gregory has argued that, due to the new social and technological developments of the Thirties, Armistice Day was 'thoroughly nationalised' by 1933.[557] Whitehall's Cenotaph ceremony dominated the experience of citizens who increasingly gathered in the warmth around radios, rather than huddling under umbrellas in public squares, as they might have done in the Twenties. Few have found otherwise.[558] Certainly, the new studies of inter-war civic culture find little relevance in a thoroughly 'national' event.[559]

Gregory's interpretation is not in dispute: the power and influence of the radio is undeniable. The argument here is that, underneath the national, the local remained an important version of the Armistice story. There was little diagnosis of change at the local level. Newspaper reports, although vague on numbers, did not report a diminution of enthusiasm for the local observance, even into the 1930s. In Glasgow, according to the *Herald*, 1933's observance was 'one of the largest that has been seen since the annual service was instituted'.[560] The next year, the *Citizen* estimated an attendance of 20,000 in George Square – roughly levels seen in the mid-late Twenties.[561] Newcastle did not see a concentrated Armistice crowd

[557] Gregory, *The Last Great War*, p.273.
[558] Mark Connelly observed that the 'size and reverence' of the crowds in the City and the East End remained significant through the Thirties. Connelly, *The Great War, Memory and Ritual,* p.200.
[559] Tom Hulme mentions Armistice Day as national ceremony, fostering the 'widespread feeling of patriotic character': Hulme, 'Civic culture and Citizenship: the Nature of Urban Governance in Interwar Manchester and Chicago' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leicester, 2013), p.6.
[560] *GH*, 12/11/1924, p.9.
[561] *GEC*, 11/11/1933, p.9.

until the Thirties. Until 1929, the civic ceremony centred on St Nicholas cathedral, with other spaces (Exchange, Central Station, South African War Memorial, 6th Fusiliers monument) serving as foci for different groups. From 1929, crowd action centralised on the war memorial in Eldon Square, and newspapers revelled in large estimates of spectators. In 1930, the *Chronicle* estimated a crowd 20,000 strong at Eldon Square in front of the city's war memorial. It would report half that in 1931, although still maintaining the rhetoric of public enthusiasm: 'crowds were undiminished'; the *Journal* noted that 'attendance was largest for some years'.[562]

Where numbers were down, newspapers blamed the weather, not citizen apathy. The cold, torrential rain that fell on Glasgow's ceremony in 1926, for instance, was immediately assigned as the cause of that year's low turnout (estimated at 10,000).[563] In Newcastle, where the weather was probably marginally kinder, it could equally be used to evidence the grit and determination of the northern character. The 'cold rain' did not put off the estimated 20,000 men, women and children who suffered the Armistice ritual in Eldon Square in 1929.[564] In 1934, the heavy rain would once more evidence citizen's stoicism in newspaper coverage.[565]

The 'local' was also a character in the Armistice Day story. The ritual presented opportunities for local newspapers to visualise and articulate local and regional identities within the national framework.

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[562] *NWC*, 17/11/1932, p.11. *NJ*, 12/11/1932, p. 9.
[563] *Bulletin*, 12/11/1926, p.6.
[564] *NJ*, 12/11/1929, p.3.
[565] *NJ*, 12/11/1934, p.9.

In terms of space, London coverage did not provide the mainstay of press reportage within the civic public sphere. In the Twenties, coverage of the Cenotaph and the funeral of the Unknown Warrior did attract great attention, but this element progressively took a back seat as the years progressed, the result of editorial strategies to capitalise on local feeling. Instead, newspapers focused on their constituencies. Glasgow's news, for instance, increasingly presented a distinct and united Scottish culture of remembrance. In 1921 the *Herald* did publish London news first, but more space was dedicated to Scottish communities: Edinburgh, Glasgow, and urban and rural communities deemed important in its readership.[566] By the mid-Twenties, national coverage shadowed Scottish coverage. In 1930, the *Record* headlined its reportage of Armistice Day with 'Scotland's Day of Memories' and 'Scots' Tributes', reporting exclusively on Edinburgh and Glasgow, as its national coverage, but detailing a host of other endeavours: Ayr, Buchanan, Kilsyth, Govan, Bishopbriggs, Dumbarton, Kilmarnock, Airdrie, Motherwell and Paisley.[567]

The same phenomenon is also evident in Newcastle's public sphere. In 1920, the focus of the *Chronicle* and *Journal* was on the burial in London, both according discussion to the 'North's Two Minutes' on a separate page.[568] The next year, the *Journal* dedicated two paragraphs to the 'hush at the cenotaph', focusing most of its attention on northern areas: North Shields, South Shields, Gosforth,

[566] *GH*, 12/11/1921, p.7.
[567] *DR*, 12/11/1930, p.9.
[568] *NWC*, 13/11/1920, p.4 and p.12. *IC*, 12/11/1920, p.2 and p.15. *NJ*, 12/11/1920, p.2 and p.9.

Sunderland and Durham.[569] As a broadsheet, the paper paid particular attention to detail. In 1930, coverage of a host of regional enterprises tailed the headline of 'The North Remembers': Gateshead, Haltwhistle, Bamburgh, Wallsend, Gosforth, Warkworth, Jarrow, Allendale, Sunderland, Blyth, Berwick, Morpeth, Wooler, South Shields and Tyne Dock.[570] The *Chronicle*, too, threw a wide net around the North East for its coverage, aiming to describe 'how the North Country held Remembrance Day: in every town and village', narrating the activities in each of these.[571]

War remembrance thus united a host of regional (rural and urban) players, gathering them into a compendium through sober and solemn reflection.[572] There *was* a 'great deal of local pride' in the civic rendering of the ritual.[573] Not only did civic leaders prove their ceremonial mettle for the first time in the ceremony.[574] Press discourse imparted notions of supra-class civic unity ('Kelvinside rubbed shoulders with Camlachie')[575], discreet and respectful citizen behaviour ('no jostling')[576], and presented corporations whose services were as ordered and controlled as its citizens, in following directives from the civic authority. Armistice Day was different from the 19th-century processional ritual that 'provided an image of power by giving a striking visual form by the public appearance of economic

[569] *NJ*, 12/11/1921, p.8.
[570] *NJ*, 12/11/1930, p.11.
[571] *NWC*, 14/11/1930, pp.9–10.
[572] This may have resulted from changes in distribution practices of newspapers.
[573] Gregory, *Silence of Memory*, p.132.
[574] Connelly, *The Great War, Memory and Ritual*, p.168.
[575] *DR*, 12/11/1931, p.4.
[576] *GH*, 12/11/1921, p.7

and political elite at repeated stylised moments'.[577] But it visualised a new conception of the civic, centred on the civic head, and foregrounding corporation services, such as the tramways, and police, who not only participated, but also facilitated the ritual.[578]

How did the military fit within this collection of local characters? One way of examining the issue of military belonging is through analysis of the ritual's imagery. Gregory has argued that 'it was Silence which was the heart of the ritual', a silence given meaning through the *language* of performers and the media.[579] This path-making approach to the ritual has provided a blueprint for other local and national studies.[580] Perhaps unusually, the historiography diverges only in matters of degrees in important areas: the national communality of the moment, the marginalisation of veterans from the control of public memory, and the congregation of disparate memories around two simple words: 'Never Again'.

As well as imparting words, however, Armistice Day was also extraordinarily rich in imagery and performance. As Gregory noted, it was 'impressiveness' that bolstered the weight of its words, but the emotional tour de force came from performance rather than rhetorical flourish.[581] This spectacular element had to be worked out on the ground, as cities nationwide coordinated their responses. But,

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[577] Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class*, p.163.

[578] *Covenanter*, July 1924, p.48. Notes thanks to the 'wholehearted efforts of the Chief Constable…and the Tramways Manager' for the smooth organisation.

[579] Gregory, *Silence of Memory*, p.131.

[580] The most recent includes: Denise Cross, 'First World War memorials, commemoration and community in North East England, 1918–1939' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Durham University, 2012).

[581] Gregory, *Silence of Memory*, p.11; p.16

following state-periphery relations during this period, if the state provided the impetus for the observance, the locality adapted it for its needs within a specific context. Acknowledging that ritual can hold multiple meanings, both for participants and audiences, and in line with wider trends in the study of inter-war civic ritual, it is time to transfer our focus to the visual elements of the ceremonial to dissect these operations and see how the conservative values of the ritual, filtered down, via the locality, to the citizen.[582]

Glasgow and Newcastle's ceremonies accorded a great deal of space to military units. In this, civic leadership had a crucial organising role. There is no indication, for instance, that either committee in Newcastle or Glasgow responsible for the spaces around the war memorial made any contribution to the organisation of the ritual, bar sanctioning the erection of various speakers' platforms, or the wire frame of 'Remembrance' in Newcastle that invited the insertion of the city's poppies. Likewise, there was never conciliar discussion over how the proceedings should run in either city and who should be involved. In Newcastle, newspapers referred to the annual 'meeting between the civic and military authorities' that thrashed out the organisation.[583]Letters in the Lord Mayor's letter books, like the 1929 letter from his secretary to the Commanding Officer at Fenham Barracks, thanking him for the draft order of proceedings and recognising the changes to the seating plan, suggest

[582] Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).
[583] *NJ*, 6/11/1928, p.8.

that the military were equal players in constructing the ceremony.[584] That year, the 'Military Matters' column of the *Journal* credited Arthur Lambert – Newcastle's 'Soldier Mayor' with moving the main civic ceremony to the war memorial – a move seen as in the best interests of all service groups.[585]

Similar 'meetings' with unspecified participants characterised Glasgow's rituals. Newspaper reports, like the ones in 1930, simply noted that the ritual's format depended on the 'decision of a meeting between the Lord Provost Kelly and the various authorities'.[586] There was likewise an absence of conciliar or committee involvement in this city. From this evidence, Armistice Day was one of those ceremonies that fell within the remit of the civic leader in terms of organisation and performance. Precedent probably played its part. Once a blueprint had been established, there was little that needed doing year in and year out. Each successive civic leader was confronted with a programme that assumed military involvement. As Labour would find in Glasgow after 1935, some changes could be made to custom, but there was very little room to manoeuvre without attracting the accusation of introducing partisan politics into a moment of solemn commemoration.

The resulting space afforded to military groups was significant. In Glasgow, the military played an important part from the earliest years when, even before the unveiling of the cenotaph in 1924, the

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[584] TWA. MD.NC/D/3/7/1. Lord Mayor's Letter Books 89 16/4/1929-10/6/1929, p. 803. Sec to Lieut. Col A R Hay, 22/10/1929.
[585] *NJ*, 2/11/1929, p.8.
[586] *Bulletin* 12/11/1930, p.3.

civic observance centred on George Square. In 1922, for instance, the guard of honour were drawn from the Royal Scots Fusiliers, stationed at Maryhill. After the unveiling, military spectacle increased.[587] In 1924, detachments included the regular recruits from the HLI, as well as representatives of the city's Territorial units.[588] High-level military officers stood shoulder to shoulder with Glasgow's civic elites: the lines of magistrates, deputy lieutenants, headed by the Lord Provost, also included the GOC Lowland Division, members of the TAA and the officers of the RNVR. This configuration remained stable throughout the inter-war years, with the *Herald* commenting in 1929 on the dominance of the 'men of the services'.[589] Ex-servicemen, in various associations, also had formal recognition around cenotaph space, their wreaths, forming the shapes of regimental badges and slogans, were prominent tokens of regimental identity.

In Newcastle, for the majority of the Twenties, the civic observance was contained in the cathedral, with a post- service procession to Eldon Square after the unveiling of the memorial in 1923. Here the 'representative of navy, military and airforce' (RNVR and Territorial officers as well as Regulars) followed the civic fathers. Aldermen, magistrates, poor law guardians, tramwaymen and 'representatives of every body and organisation and of every domination' followed after them.[590] After 1926, the service elements in the city became increasingly important to the ceremony. The

[587] *DR*, 13/11/1922, p.7.
[588] *GEC*, 11/11/1924, p.5.
[589] *GH*, 12/11/1929, p.11.
[590] *IC*, 12/11/1923, p.2.

removal of the civic observance to Eldon Square in 1929 set the military tone for the Thirties. Although that year the volunteer units provided detachments to the war memorial, it was the regular elements that appeared thereafter: Royal Artillery, DLI and Northumberland Fusiliers from the depot, all 'young soldiers' in training.[591]

If 'Memory went ceremoniously attended by scarlet, gold, and khaki to the thrill of bugles and lament of the pipes', as declared by the *Daily Record* in 1931, what did that mean?[592] In one sense, military spectacle was seen to add significant ceremonial weight to the occasion without diluting its seriousness – a 'tribute without pomp' – that suited the timbre of the occasion.[593] But there were no interpretations of the meaning of the presence of large numbers of troops. Like the military symbolism constructed within war memorials, it was both vague and specific: they evoked aspects deemed key to war remembrance, such as reminders of the duty, service and loyalty of the fallen themselves.[594] Important, too, were the same notions of civic strength and power of local government that characterised civic–militarism in other contexts, particularly when these were under attack. In Glasgow, 1932's ceremony witnessed unemployment demonstrations, where 'scores of cloth capped ex-servicemen' marched 'with banners on which a silent crowd read

[591] *NJ*, 12/11/1933, p.9.
[592] *DR*, 12/11/1931, p.4.
[593] Ibid.
[594] King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain,* pp.135–8.

bitterly worded protests against poverty and unemployment.'[595] Levelling a lesson in civic public-mindedness at the protestors, the *Record* gave the 'Communists' a brief mention before switching focus to Lyon Street, 'where they are all poor and in front of ugly tenements', and where the solemn observance was a model 'form of demonstrating'. This one was not 'with fear or hate in their hearts, but reverently, with sorrow, gratitude, and remembrance of their own and the million others mingling in their breast'.[596]

The military presence, however, at its basic level betokened a consistent right to be counted within civic life: the fact of space mattered most. In some ways, and only in Glasgow, the local ritual shadowed the questioning raised against military participation at the national level. In 1933, the *Daily Record* reported on a lone man carrying a banner 'British Workers Unite against War' as a 'jarring note' in the ceremony. Its own cartoon of Mars placing a wreath at a generic cenotaph, displacing Peace in the process, raised another sort of challenge to military presence both locally and nationally.[597] In 1934, the *News* referred to some remarks against the presence of the local troops, but without specification: 'once more we heard the criticism that the George Square ceremony savours over much of military formality.'[598]

These were small stirrings in the waters of a city that harboured a distinct and powerful anti-war movement, it is surprising that the

[595] *Bulletin*, 12/11/1932, p.3.
[596] *DR*, 12/11/1932, p.12.
[597] *DR*, 13/11/1933, p.2.
[598] *EN*, 12/11/1934, p.5.

military qualities of the occasion were not subject to a more constant battery. In no November edition of *Forward* between the wars is there a gauntlet thrown down to the civic community on this point. The Trades Council records, whilst mobilising anti-war protest, are likewise quiescent on the subject. It is possible, as Gregory has argued, that the respect for the sanctity of the dead, that kept the ritual relatively free from contestation and debate, sheltered the military in this case.[599] There is some evidence of an alternative culture in both cities. It is also possible that the use of military symbolism to express civic power and strength by a middle-class-dominated elite was so spectacularly unsurprising that it excited little interest in Leftist circles.

The civic was not the only middle-class-dominated public culture served by the military during Armistice Day. Military symbolism also helped to express and confirm social hierarchies in industrial areas of each city. High military participation in Govan's ceremonials is perhaps most interesting, as an area famous for its working-class agitation.[600] As in many other constituencies, Govan's ritual was organised by its middle classes: its organiser (Samuel T Wilson) ran the local Capitol Cinema, and participants included notables from Glasgow's civic elites, as well as representatives from masonic lodges, youth associations and the 'Old Govan Club'.[601] It was the civic in micro, evoking the burgh pride of a pre-1912 past:

[599] Gregory, *Silence of Memory*, p. 131. Chapter 5.
[600] Campbell, *The Making of a Clydeside Working Class*, p.28.
[601] *Govan Press*, 14/11/1931, p.7.

police and tramways marched in the parade; the war memorial formed the focus of proceedings, itself built on the site of the ancient Govan cross; the ritual was vaunted in the *Govan Press*, which sanitised its vision of local 'Govan people'.[602] It was perhaps these claims to importance that invited troops. From 1929, a significant number of volunteers and regulars took part in the parade and service. In 1933, for instance, contingents of RNVR, 2nd Battalion Black Watch (stationed at Maryhill), 7th Cameronians, 6th HLI as well as Maryhill's 312th Battery of the Royal Artillery paraded at the head of the procession.[603] President of the Scots Guards Association, former officer General Sir Norman Orr Ewing inspected the ex-service and military units.

But here local and military hierarchies were intertwined. In 1932, John G Stephen, one of the directors of the nearby shipyard and the grandson of its founder, took the salute dressed in Army uniform.[604] A similar congruence of forces can be seen in Newcastle's shipyard constituency, Walker on Tyne. From 1927 at least, the 5th Battalion Northumberland Fusiliers (TA) took part in Walker's public ritual, marching at the head of a parade that included the Society of Boilermakers, Friendly Societies and the Salvation Army. In 1932, the same year as Stephen, the Chairman of Swan Hunter & Wigham Richardson (Wallsend-based shipbuilding firm), took his place amongst other elites to take the salute of the passing troops. His

[602] Ibid.
[603] *Govan Press*, 16/11/19334, p.4.
[604] *Govan Press*, 12/11/1932, p.7.

photograph appeared in the *Chronicle,* laying a wreath at the foot of the battalion's memorial in Walker Park beside Lieut. Col. B Peatfield, the unit's commanding officer.[605] Swan Hunter's shipyard had supplied a great deal of manpower for the Wallsend contingent of the 5th; a reference in 1936 that the firm had at least 200 employees in Territorial service suggests that they did so after the slump.[606] There was little language reported in this parade. Yet, considering that the parade probably contained a good many wage earners who were out of work in 1932, as in the surrounding neighbourhood, it is hard not to interpret this involvement as a bulwark of defence against depression and disorder: the mobilisation of concepts of order and hierarchy under the promise of better times.

The dynamics of all these performances were refracted in the civic press, assuming another visual life in the photographic record they left. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Armistice Day provided rich photographic fodder for newspapers that were increasingly foregrounding their visual subject matter at the expense of their discourse.[607] Its abundant photography offers us a way of unravelling the various local meanings that emerged through the ritual's imagery, rather than its language. Although content analysis (the quantitative examination of composition according to categories) has its methodological issues, in this case, undertaken with awareness of its pitfalls, it is perfectly suited to helping us understand more about

[605] *EC*, 25/04/1932, p.11.
[606] TWA.DS.SWH/5/2/3. Swan Hunter Collection, Public Relations, Marketing and in house publications. *The Shipyard*, October 1936, p.169.
[607] This development has been discussed in chapter 4.

the meanings the ritual conveyed. Moreover, it yields data that allows us to read the ritual over time.[608] In this case, it allows us to understand how civic communities ordered participants around the central Armistice Day message: *who* the ritual was about, rather than *what*, and how this changed over time.

Glasgow's major pictorial paper, Outram's *Bulletin & Scot's Pictorial* has been chosen for this investigation. This is not simply because, as a pictorial paper, it provides us with a range of images. As Outram recycled its images through all of its other press organs, it had a significant cultural influence on a large section of the city's public sphere. Counting only those concerning the rituals of the 11th (not Armistice Sunday, which may have been included in the same edition as when, for instance, Armistice Day fell on a Saturday), the paper published 193 photographs depicting Armistice Day scenes from the period 1920–39. These included front-page images, as well as those interspersed in the pages or included in its double-page photographic spreads. The location of these scenes underlines the Scottish emphasis visible in other papers. In terms of the front page, which contained a total of 71 photographs from 1920–30, the English national Cenotaph took up just under 15.5% of space. Most concerned either Glasgow (*c*.39.5%) or Edinburgh (33.8%), with smaller numbers representing other Scottish urban (7%) or rural (4.2%) depictions.

Percentages cannot account for placement and prominence, with some images larger than others and occupying more significant

[608] Rose Gillian, *Visual Methodologies: an introduction to interpretation of visual materials* (London: Sage, 2010), p.64.

positions in the paper. In 1930, for instance, the *Bulletin*'s entire front page depicted a solitary highland scene: a shepherd observing the silence among rural stillness.[609] The next year, it was a gentleman farmer and a hunting dog.[610] Both these strong evocations of Scottish highland or rural traditions dominated the depiction in those years. The tendency, however, particularly in the early Thirties, was to depict a national moment of celebration around the stone of remembrance in Edinburgh: just under a third of front-page space was dedicated to these scenes in the 1930s. From 1927, after the unveiling of the stone, this ceremony, endowed with a certain degree of royal patronage, provided great focus for the *Bulletin*'s reports. In 1932, all front-page reports focused on the Prince of Wales engaged in various aspects of performance in Edinburgh.[611] Further royal scenes marked the coverage in 1934 and 1935, with headlines such as 'Duke of Kent leads Scotland's Homage to the Fallen' and 'Prince Leads Tributes to Scotland's War Dead' acknowledging both the distinctive and separateness of Scottish remembrance, as well as its loyalty and patriotism to the wider nation.[612] If the *Bulletin* propounded a strong Scottish national image, it also recognised the importance of the civic: Glasgow's observance represented the front-page coverage for the three years between 1936 and 1938.[613] [See Figures 28-31 for examples of Armistice Day coverage.]

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[609] *Bulletin*, 12/11/1930, p.1.
[610] *Bulletin*, 12/11/1931, p.1.
[611] *Bulletin,* 12/11/1932, p.1.
[612] *Bulletin*, 12/11/1934, p.1; 12/11/1935, p.1.
[613] *Bulletin*, 12/11/1936, p.1; *Bulletin,* 12/11/1938, p.1.

The Bulletin & Scots Pictorial, Wednesday, November 12, 1924.

HOW THE GREAT SILENCE WAS OBSERVED THROUGHOUT THE LAND

The Bulletin AND SCOTS PICTORIAL

24 Pages

24th YEAR.—No. 272. [REGISTERED AT G.P.O. AS A NEWSPAPER.] Wednesday, November 12, 1924. One Penny.

ARMISTICE DAY CEREMONIES: SCENES IN GLASGOW AND EDINBURGH

...impressive Armistice Day scenes in Glasgow took place at the Cenotaph in George Square yesterday, where a very large crowd gathered in the rain for the ceremony. The pictures show (centre) the two minutes' silence, the Lord Provost laying a wreath in name of the city at the base of the Cenotaph, and (left) buglers sounding "The Last Post."

...ert and finish of the two minutes' silence was notified by gunfire from the Castle, where a ceremony on the esplanade was attended by the officers of the Scottish Command. General Sir Walter ... (left) with Colonel Neman. The pipers of the 1st K.O.S.B. took part in the ceremony at the Castle. Right, the scene at Stewart's College war memorial, where an impressive service also took ...

Other pictures will be found inside and on the back.

Figure 28 *Bulletin* Front page, 12/11/1924.

The Bulletin & Scots Pictorial, November 12, 1927.

REMEMBRANCE DAY SCENES: KING AND CITIZENS AT CENOTAPH

The Bulletin

SCOTS AND PICTORIAL

20 Pages

[Registered at G.P.O. as a Newspaper.] Saturday, November 12, 1927. One Penny.

SCOTS ARMISTICE SCENES: PRINCE HENRY IN EDINBURGH

Prince Henry stands in silence immediately after unveiling the Edinburgh Stone of Remembrance.

The Prince with his suite leaving the memorial to attend service in St Giles'.

...memorial crowd that filled George Square, Glasgow, for the service and Silence.

...was marked by H.R.H. Prince Henry's visit to Edinburgh to unveil the Stone of Remembrance at the City Chambers. With him in the lower picture are the Very Rev. ... Charles L. Wa... ...ington, and Captain Floyd (with sword). George Square, Glasgow, was packed with people who gathered to attend the service at the Cenotaph.—"Bulletin" Photos.

Figure 29 *Bulletin* Front Page 12/11/1927

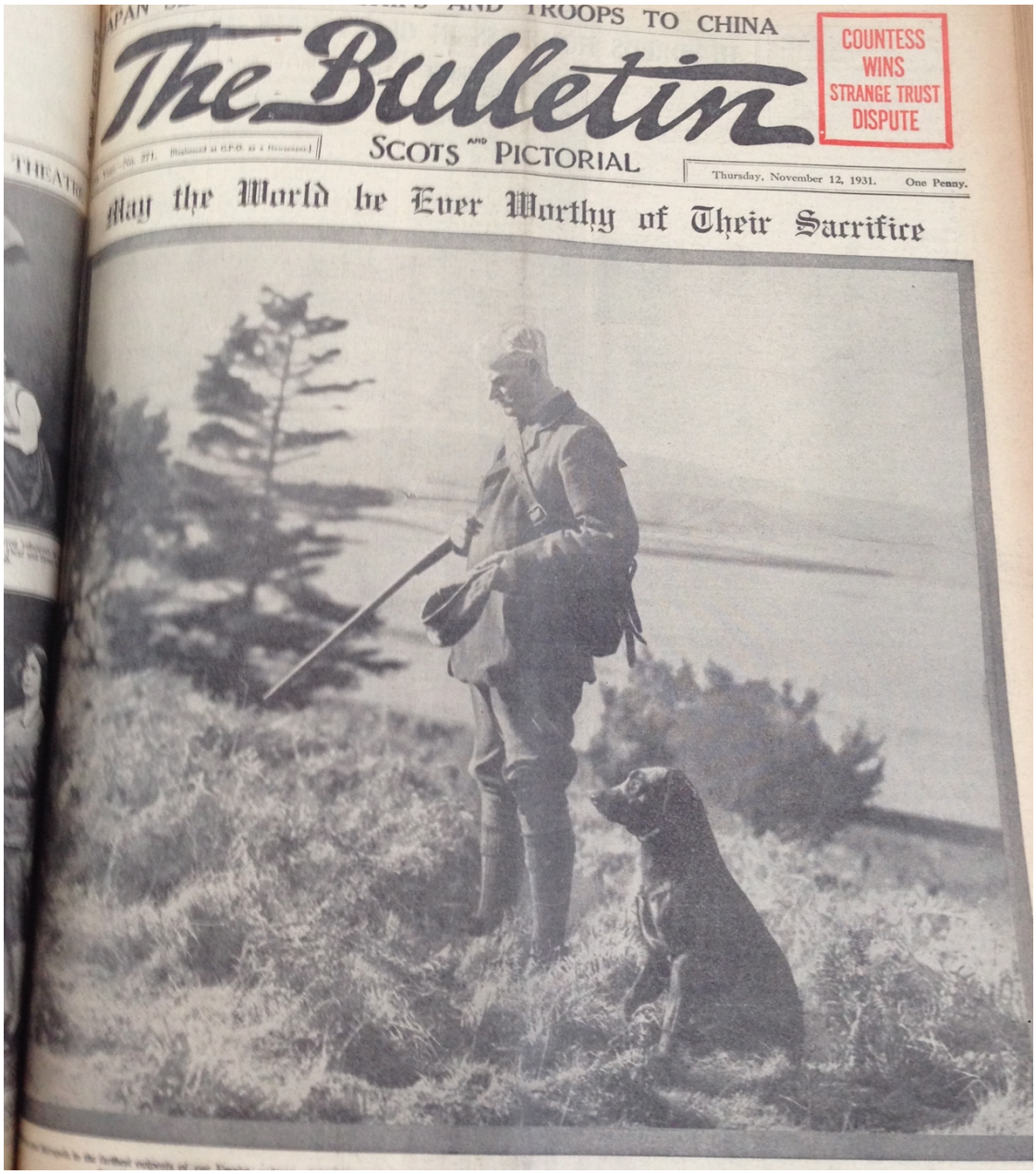

Figure 30 *Bulletin* Front page 12/11/1931


WOMAN'S CAPE-BRITAIN FLIGHT RECORD BROKEN

The Bulletin

SCOTS AND PICTORIAL

REMEMBRANCE DAY SCENES AND INCIDENTS

Tuesday, November 12, 1935. One Penny

PRINCE LEADS TRIBUTE TO SCOTLAND'S WAR DEAD

walking to the Stone of Remembrance during the Armistice Day proceedings in Edinburgh yesterday. On the left is Lord Provost Gumley.

His Royal Highness, who represented the King, laying a wreath on the Stone of Remembrance after the Two-Minutes Silence, which was begun and terminated by the firing of a gun at the Castle.

and the Earl of Haddington photographed (left) in St Andrew Square, where the processionists gathered before marching to the High Street. Right—The Queen with the Duchess of Marie Louise watching the service at the Cenotaph in London from the balcony of the Home Office. The King's place at the Cenotaph was taken by the Duke of York.

Figure 31 *Bulletin* Front page 12/11/1935.

This trend, which saw the obliteration of the Cenotaph from the foremost part of the paper in the Thirties, ran counter to technological advances. In 1928, the development of the Siemens Halkse system had allowed for the transmission of photographs by wire. Elsewhere in the civic press, and the *Bulletin* particularly, national and international images had become important markers of technological innovation and claims to importance.[614] The inclusion of Cenotaph images would have met those aims nicely, but the photographs do not tell a national story: Scottish urban scenes dominated. Glasgow-based ceremonials took up 42% of all photographic content, with Edinburgh (although important in the front page in the Thirties) representing only 19% of all coverage. Another 22% of images referred to other Scottish scenes, with rural constituencies represented through only 5% of all photographs. The Cenotaph or other English scenes counted in only 12.5% of the *Bulletin*'s photography. The *Bulletin* projected images of civic Scottishness through the solemn ritual.

Moving from photographs' settings to their content, we can understand which characters dominated the ritual's visual elements, rather than its discourse. All photographs were analysed according to the following participants: Civic, Military, Business/Professional, Civil Associations, Ex-service men/groups, Religious. Different categories, drawn from the descriptions of the participants within the paper, differentiated the visual depictions of a group of people vs.

[614] George Outram & Company, *Scottish Newspapers in the Making. The Outram Press.* (Glasgow, 1931).

groups of citizens: 'Crowd', 'Public', 'Bereaved'. These help us to explore ideas of public observance as a civic duty and a personal duty. Participants were accorded to these categories only where the participant was clearly identified through captioning, or within the photography itself through visual signifiers: a child holding a wreath 'To Daddy'; the wearing of medals on the left or right breast. This makes no comment on the emotional investment of the participants (particularly in the case of veterans). It merely follows the public identities that the ceremony created and allows us to assess who dominated the visual elements of the Armistice ritual.

Under this methodology we can identify 197 participants from the photographs, not counting sole images of royalty, which numbered 15. This deviates slightly from the number of photographs, but not as much as might be expected considering the numbers of participants in the ritual who could have been shown within one photograph. This is probably because the panoramic scenes of the crowd tended to mask individuals or groups. Interestingly, this contributed to the marginality of veterans within newspaper space, echoing Gregory's assertion of their absence within the language.[615] Veterans count in only six photographs, 3% of the total. This absence is explicable, in part, because ex-servicemen or their groups did not stand out in crowd shots unless these clearly showed medals. They would, however, have counted in the analysis if the caption of the photograph had noted them.

[615] Gregory, *The Silence of Memory*, pp.51–86, pp.127–8.

If they were marginal to these aspects of the ritual, the bereaved could not claim the same place in Armistice imagery as they did in written, or spoken, discourse. Social mores and sensitivity to their grief probably excluded them. It might have been acceptable to speak on behalf of those grieving, but it was obviously distasteful to prey on private emotion with a camera. The 'bereaved' appear in only 19 photographs between 1920 and 1939, only three of these were Glasgow's 'bereaved'. All representations focus on the orderly act of tribute (wreath laying) or the proud display of medals, asserting a positive image of the relationship between grief and civic participation. This does not mean the bereaved had less importance within the ritual, but it created a different focus within the imagery.

The dominant figures in Armistice Day coverage were Scottish and civic. These are depicted in 34 photographs (24 from Glasgow) between 1920 and 1929. The number rises slightly to 38 (23 Glasgow's) between 1930 and 1939. This was just under a third of all photographs, and the most common theme in a photograph depicting a singular subject was a Lord Provost laying a wreath. But this civic element was intimately intertwined with the military element of local life. If Armistice Day was a civic event, it was also a military one. Nearly 25% of all civic images depicted military participants. In total, 28% of all photographs between 1920–29 contained a military element; this rose to 33% in the next decade. It was not simply that troops were highly visual and recognisable participants: sole images of high-ranking military officers counted for 16 of these images, nearly a third of the total.

This occupation of public space far outstripped any other business or civil component. There are only three images, for instance, that portray the representatives of the public services (police, fire brigade, tramways) in Glasgow, although these were represented in the ceremony every year. Business communities received less treatment, with only two images identified for the two decades. Civil groups and associations, like the Girl Guides or the Boys Brigade, who both participated frequently and provided so much fodder for the *Bulletin* during the rest of the year, only appear in five instances. Glasgow's only civil subject was the depiction of the silence during a football match at Glasgow High School in 1922.

It is hard to provide a comparable analysis of Newcastle, which had no dedicated pictorial paper after the *Illustrated Chronicle* folded in 1925. If we take, however, the image content of the *Newcastle Journal* we can see the same trends. Out of 39 Armistice scenes extracted from its pages between 1926 and 1938, 31 were Newcastle-based and another three drawn from other constituencies in the North East. Five came from London. It was a more parochial vision than that offered by the *Bulletin* but it fitted with the wider reportage of the event that celebrated Newcastle as leading the rest of the region in remembrance. In terms of participants, the paper showed an even more pronounced bias towards military subjects. Whilst 32% of images depicted civic subjects, 75% foregrounded military troops or personnel. There was no 'bereaved': 32% depicted 'the crowd', underlining the public duty of the observance.

The military used this public platform to adjudge and celebrate achievement. The selection of regular squads from the HLI for participation in the George Square ceremonies, for instance, led to a regular dissection of their performance. Regimental reputation was at stake and, particularly in these years when the training role was so crucial to the depot, their performance counted. As the depot of the Northumberland Fusiliers declared in 1925: 'a regiment is never more strictly or severely judged than by its drafts.'[616] Armistice Day became a moment of appraisal, not simply for the young recruits but also for the men who trained them. The reward being the congratulations issued by the depot commander or, as in 1931 and 1932 at least, a letter issued by no less than the GOC Scottish Command, who commended them on their 'smart appearance' and turnout.[617] Territorial battalions also used the ritual to mark milestones. For the 5th battalion, Northumberland Fusiliers, Armistice ceremonials, not the regimental day of St George, became the day on which to present Territorial Efficiency Medals (TEM), which were usually presented in Walker Park, around the battalion's war memorial.

For their associated communities, whatever their marginality, the Armistice observance was an important moment to realise and project their identities. All branches of Glasgow's regimental associations took their obligations to remember their dead seriously. The representative members chosen paraded in their select and small detachments to the war memorial, stood in their allocated places, and

[616] *StGG*, 31/12/1921, p.215.
[617] *HLIC* January 1932, p.44. *HLIC,* January 1933, p.38.

waited in line to lay their wreaths. QOCHA also fielded another detachment to the ceremonials at the Exchange, where they placed a wreath on the memorial that, after all, was in the likeness of the Cameron Highlander in memory of the company raised there. Newcastle's Fusiliers but also its Royal Engineers comrades associations likewise had an official place around Eldon Square's war memorial. Laid in an act of remembrance, out of duty to the dead, their wreaths presented confident assertions of regimental identity, presented in the shape of regimental badges or emblazoned with regimental mottos.

For military communities, Armistice Day became a day where identities were forged and important values communicated in a very public way. The Cameronians' annual gathering around their war memorial in Kelvingrove Park, for instance, achieved constituent notice, as well as the military component of the civic service. Armistice Sunday provided further opportunities in this respect. In Newcastle, this was entirely led by military groups, with local military commanders (GOC Northern Command, and officer commanding the 50th Division) providing the address at St Nicholas cathedral, from 1926 onwards, followed by another military parade to the war memorial. In Glasgow, the military inaugurated their own public ceremonials around the observance. The Cameronians held their own service of remembrance in Glasgow cathedral from 1921, usually on Armistice Sunday; from 1929, the HLI inaugurated their own service, held the first Sunday in November. Both of these

contributed to the military tone of November in Glasgow's public sphere.

The Armistice period was a time to take stock: to realise, mark and record passing generations for posterity. It warranted the taking of group photographs, which could be hung in the mess, like the Northumberland Fusiliers Officers Mess in 1921, or those presented as a gift to mark affiliation, as in the case of the KOSBA's presentation to the Commanding Officer of the Depot at Berwick upon Tweed in 1935.[618] Military discourse rarely delved into the existential problem confronting soldiery in wartime during times of peace. But in the ritual laying of wreaths in the remembrance of those fallen in battle, the public and the military honoured a solemn compact that those dying in the service of their country should never be forgotten. In doing so, they promised to do the same for those yet to come.

[618] *Borderers Chronicle*, March 1937, p.24.

Chapter 6

Recreational Spaces: Clubs, Restaurants, Dance Halls and Pubs

'Comradeship' and 'esprit de corps' provided the ideological oil in the machinery of the military community. In practice, these bonds were realised in peacetime through sociability that drew on urban leisure practices. This chapter examines the ways in which military communities looked to recreational spaces to actualise a sense of community and formulate notions of group belonging. Other studies have noted the importance of sociability for the realisation of comradeship (in veterans groups) and in terms of popularising the army, particularly the Territorials, but none have investigated these cultures in detail.[1] This chapter examines sociability to see how the class dynamics of 'comradeship' were actually constructed and how a variety of men could feel 'at home' within the military.[2] It also investigates the legitimising elements behind performances of

[1] Barr, *Lion and the Poppy*, p.86.
[2] Amy Milne-Smith, *London Clubland: a cultural history of gender and class in late Victorian Britain* (New York: Palgrave, 2011), p.8.

leisure, and how military groups found, in recreational spaces, the opportunity to assert further claims to belonging.

Regimental Clubs: Urban Sociability and Leisure

Regimental clubs were the causes célèbres of regimental associations. All wanted one: they were homes for the regimental family, a way to integrate past and serving members through social intercourse. This would work for the benefit of both, but ultimately it served the idea of the regiment. As the Duke of Montrose put it, at the unveiling of Glasgow's Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders War Memorial Club in 1923, these 'clubs [would] form centres allowing past and present members of the regiment to meet, thus inculcating amongst the young soldier the regimental tradition' and 'encouraging and maintaining the spirit of comradeship'.[3] Opening the fundraising fete for the HLI's club in 1920, Lieutenant Sir Francis Davies (then GOC Scottish Command) spoke of their 'great importance in bringing old and new members in contact with one another, and so keeping up traditions and esprit de corps of the regiment'.[4] The Earl of Home noted that the 'chief purpose' of the Cameronians club was to 'bind together on earth all Cameronians in the same bonds as bound the dead'.[5] The Commanding Officer of the 9th HLI cut to the chase: the first object of their club was 'the furtherance of the interests of the Glasgow Highlanders'.[6] But clubs also increased the regimental

[3] *GH*, 9/10/1923, p.7.
[4] *HLIC*, July 1920, p.104.
[5] *Glasgow Herald*, 29/9/1923, p.8.
[6] *HLIC*, July 1920, p.71.

profile in the urban landscape and the presence of the military in local life.

Founding clubs involved significant financial outlay, in procuring premises and furnishings. Military communities in both Newcastle and Glasgow looked to the large war memorial funds raised by civic groups to aid them in this respect, pots that would not prove lucrative. Norman Macleod wrote to advance the claims of service clubs in the city in the formative stages of Glasgow's civic scheme, which the committee never considered.[7] A later request for funds from the Limbless Ex-Service Men's Association for such purposes was rejected: it would open the floodgates and invite requests from other similar associations and there were not enough resources to share.[8] In Newcastle, a deputation of local military commanders, led by Lieut. Gen. Sir A Kerr Montgomery (commander of the Tyne Garrison during war) waited on the War Memorial Committee in 1919 to argue for the claims of a service club.[9] This committee, hardly unresponsive to the military in other circumstances, also rejected the request on grounds of its sectional nature.

If military communities were to carve their own niche on the urban leisure scene, they would have to raise the money internally or appeal to public charity. In this, Glasgow's communities were far more successful than Newcastle's. The Seaforth Highlanders

[7] GCA. G1/3/1 War Memorial File. Meeting of the Executive Committee on the Glasgow War Memorial 12/1/1926
[8] Ibid.
[9] *NM*, 10/5/1919, p.2.

established licensed premises in the city in 1920. Others appeared in quick succession. By 1928, the HLI, Scots Guards, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, KOSB, Gordon Highlanders, and Cameronians all boasted licensed regimental clubs.[10] The Royal Artillery Association Club won a licence in 1932.[11] The QOCHA club opened in 1932, obtaining a licence in 1934.[12] The Glasgow and District Naval Association Club renewed a certificate in 1938, although it is difficult to ascertain when they first registered.[13] By that point, service clubs represented 15% of the city's total of 74 licensed premises, but there were others: the Royal Scots Greys opened premises in 1930 but did not apply for a license.[14] In contrast, there were two Newcastle service clubs: the Northumberland Fusiliers' 'St George's Club' (opened in the Twenties), replaced by another in 1929, and the club of the Northumberland Hussars.[15]

One could speculate, from this pattern and the existence of similar clubs in Edinburgh, that Scottish regiments were more successful as fundraisers, particularly in the case of commemoration. In a very direct example of how the Great War's myth and memory could revitalise service identities, much of the financial outlay for these clubs came from regimental drives to finance war memorial schemes. Lesser sources came from the winding up of various

[10] GCA.D-TC/14/2/20/138a. Report by the Town Clerk as to Registration of Clubs under the Licensing Scotland Acts 1913-1928. C1/3/74, Glasgow Corporation Minutes, November 1925-April 1926, p.1300.
[11] GCA.C1/3/87. Glasgow Corporation Minutes. April 1932–November 1932, p. 1726.
[12] GCA.C1/3/91 Glasgow Corporation Minutes. April 1934–November 1934, p.2643.
[13] GCA.C11/3/9 7 Glasgow Corporation Minutes November 1937–April 1938, p.1278.
[14] GCA. SR22/40.Glasgow Police Records. Chief Constable's Annual Report (1938).
[15] *NM*, 23/4/1923, p.7. *StGG*, 30/6/1929, p.139.

wartime pots: one room of the HLI club, for instance, was furnished and decorated from the leftovers of the 18th (Service) Battalion Ladies Committee.[16] It was probably not the simple fact of money that generated resource: the promise that Glasgow (and Edinburgh) held in terms of potential membership must have incentivised regiments to focus resources to gain a foothold in the city.

But regimental clubs were not the sole creation of the regimental community. They benefited from the patronage of an array of elites: civic, city and Scottish aristocratic. For two of Glasgow's clubs – the Scots Guards and the HLI – this sponsorship had a particular financial element. The HLI held two fundraising bazaars: a garden fete in the grounds of Queen Margaret College in 1920 and another in the showrooms of Daly & Sons on Sauchiehall Street in December 1921.[17] Sir Andrew Pettigrew, founder and managing director of Sauchiehall Street's famous department store, performed the official opening at the HLI's bazaar, donating a host of items to purchase and publicising the event in the window display.[18] The Scots Guards bazaar in St Andrew's Halls in November 1921 garnered significant aristocratic patronage: Lord and Lady Blythswood, the Countess of Stair and Lady Hamilton all helped in organisation, attracting well-heeled purchasers. The bazaar was touted as a celebrated city event – it was one of the first appearances of the Countess of Castillis after her marriage in January.[19] The lists of luminaries of Glasgow's civic

[16] *HLIC*, January 1921, p.22.
[17] *GEN*, 10/9/1920, p.6. *HLIC*, January 1922, p.15
[18] *HLIC*, January 1922, p.15.
[19] *Bulletin,* 25/11/1921, p.11, p.25.

and public life in the newspaper reports fanned enthusiasm in both cases, raising a total of £4,325 for the Scots Guards and reserving funds of at least £1,800 for the HLI club.[20]

Regiments were not able to draw on the civic purse; they did benefit from city enterprises. The incredible success of the city effort to raise a memorial to Highlanders in the war had garnered £19,297, through a similar series of fundraising bazaars in 1922, operated by a coalition of clan associations and societies.[21] This was used to found a Highlanders Institute, opened in 1925, as a social and cultural centre, but also as a war memorial to those who fell in the war. Sir Andrew Pettigrew, prominent member of the Glasgow Sutherlandshire Association, became the Institute's first president. Glasgow branches of the QOCHA and Black Watch had not been able to raise the money for independent premises during the Twenties and, for these, the allocation of rooms within the Institute became their de facto clubs, suggesting the synergy between city, Scottish and martial identity.[22]

Aside from aiding the financing for space, patronage also had a cultural dimension. In speeches on platforms, these elites underlined the importance and relevance of the projects, both in terms of veteran need (widely recognised in the wake of the war) but also the historic connections between city and regiments. In an act widely reported in Glasgow's press, Lord Methuen's visit to the city included a wreath

[20] *HLIC* October 1920, p.105; *HLIC*, January 1922, p.15. *GEC*, 28/11/1921, p.5.
[21] *GEC*, 27/11/1922, p.3.
[22] *79th News* April 1926, p.25. *TRH*, June 1930, Glasgow branch notes.

laying on the grave of Alexander Thomson, a Glasgow citizen who commanded a company of guards in the 17th century – the front-page photograph in the *Bulletin* underlined 'Glasgow's Historic Regimental Connections'.[23] The Lord Provost's speech at the HLI club bazaar elaborated on the unity between city and regiment – the 'Glasgow Regiment' – praising its 'fine traditions' in a detailed rendition of regimental achievement from Waterloo to Gallipoli. Moreover, the club would provide for the city's defence in the future, nurturing, as the Lord Provost saw it, a readily accessible service community of veterans that would step forward in times of need and provide the nucleus of mobilisation.[24]

This role of interpretation continued, particularly in the Twenties when most unveilings took place. The Earl of Home unveiled the Cameronians War Memorial club, for instance, in September 1928, speaking on the 'wonderful spirit of comradeship' that had permeated the regiment since its raising 'in the days of Richard Cameron'.[25] Like the Lord Provost at the HLI club, he envisaged the project in terms of defence. It was: 'an asset to the life of Glasgow…For, he said, appeals will come from the Rulers of the City, and we, as Cameronians, must be ready to aid them'.[26] The Lord Provost's interest in the club community continued to be displayed in smaller ceremonial moments: David Mason unveiled the new hall

[23] *Bulletin*, 24/11/1921, p.11.
[24] *GEN*, 10/9/1920, p.6.
[25] *GH*, 30/9/1928, p.5.
[26] Ibid.

of the HLI club in 1929;[27] Thomas Kelly performed the same duty with regard to the King's portrait at the Cameronians Memorial club in 1931.[28]

Underneath these public acts of speechmaking and performances lay a general political goodwill that helped to keep many of these clubs alive. The bar was a key attraction of club life particularly in the context of Glasgow's exceptionally regulated hospitality environment. A licensed club could open later than pubs or hotels. Even after the Mackay Commission's recommendations extended the city's hours by an hour to 10pm in 1932, the club still had an advantage: it could operate until 11pm, and open on Sundays where elsewhere there was total closure.[29] Bar takings, although never substantial, were more lucrative than subscription income. In May 1931, for instance, the KOSB Club in Edinburgh (larger than the regiment's Glasgow premises but on a par with others in the city) made approximately £60 profit on its bar orders.[30] Even a 2s per year subscription of 300 members would have brought in little over £25.

Obtaining that licence involved negotiating a tortuous bureaucracy. The club had to register with the Licensing court, evidencing its validity with rules and regulations. If passed, the Court would then submit the application to the Sheriff for approval. This 'quasi judicial function' required deliberation of all evidence and a

[27] *HLIC* January 1930,p.51.
[28] *Covenanter*, March 1931, p.179; *Bulletin*, 21/1/1931, p.15.
[29] BMS 31, p. 30. *GH* 31/5/1932. The new hours came into effect 30 May 1932.
[30] KOSB. S5/2 KOSB Association: Memorial Club. Accounts Book May 1931-March 1934, p.169.

visit to the premises.[31] According to Glasgow's Town Clerk, the Justices and Magistrates who sat on the court had a responsibility to consider the role and nature of the club and its impact on local life, a well as to consider the individual merits of each case. Approval was then sanctioned with two signatures, but it was only for two years: candidates would have to submit again for sanction once the time was up.

It is difficult to know much of the Licensing Court's operations during this time or of its political constituency – only its findings, not its deliberations, remain extant. In a city whose politics had been heavily touched by temperance politics, and whose national licensing laws were so restrictive, obtaining a new licence was not easy. As in other cases, political timing mattered. Most of the regimental clubs had obtained their licences in a period of relative moderate dominance. From 1932, Labour outlawed *any* vote in support of new licences by their members. This presented an increasingly insurmountable obstacle for potential licensees as Labour numbers on the magistrate bench increased. Some businesses had to resort to extreme measures to garner themselves a positive result: despite the Labour party's injunction, two of its members would be investigated in for selling licences for cash. The party would later attempt to assert control over its magistrates far more rigorously on this issue.[32]

[31] GCA.D-TC/14/2/20/138a. Report by the Town Clerk as to Registration of Clubs under the Licensing Scotland Acts 1913–1928

[32] GCA. Labour Burgh Archives. Executive Committee Meeting 8/12/1936. Labour Public Representatives & Licensing: Executive Committee's Report.

The process of renewing licences, however, does not seem to have inspired a roll call vote, although it is difficult to know how seriously these were scrutinised. Military communities did not need to offer backhanders: there were enough patrons to recognise both the local validity and the benefit of the projects. The names appearing on the certificates are all men of right-leaning politics or those who blurred the boundaries between civic and military: Sir Archibald M'Innes Shaw's name appeared on licences in the Twenties; his son, Col A D M'Innes Shaw, one-time commander of the 5/8th Cameronians, supported two certificates in 1937.[33] Victor D Warren, future leader of the Progressives in the council, authorised applications from the Glasgow Highlanders and Scots Guards in 1937. [34] Bailie Robert Laing, who represented Kelvinside as a Moderate/Progressive from 1914–35, and Walter Nelson, another Moderate, also appear frequently. There was the occasional stellar turn from Sir Charles Cleland and Sir John Ure Primrose.[35]

If the clubs found sustenance from those at the highest points of Glasgow's right-leaning social elite, this worked its way out in the city's landscape. By the Thirties, the area around Charing Cross, on the western rim of the city's centre, had become regimental club land: three clubs (Gordon Highlanders, QOCH, Royal Artillery) and the Highlanders Institute stood on Elmbank Street, a terrace of Merchant Era Glasgow, with the Scottish Horse located around the corner in

[33] GCA C1/3/81 Glasgow Corporation Minutes. April 1929–November 1929, p.2412.; GCA.C1/3/97, 1937–April 1938, p.200, p.553.
[34] GCA.C1/3/97 Glasgow Corporation Minutes November 1937–April 1938, p.200.
[35] GCA C1/3/81 Glasgow Corporation Minutes. April 1929–November 1929, p.2412.

Balliol Street. Their illustrious neighbours included the Shipbuilders Institute, just a few doors down from the QOCH; the Grand Hotel, one of Glasgow's premier hospitality venues, stood a few hundred yards away. Another cluster occurred around Lynedoch Place. This was part of the oval elevation overlooking Kelvingrove Park, built in the 1840s. Here, the Scots Guards, Cameronians, Royal Scots Guards, and Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders occupied the characteristic large blond sandstone terraces, replete with superb view of the park, the university and the city. Nearby, the Seaforth Highlanders had taken premises at No 4 Queen's Crescent – known as one of the most 'charming' of all classical terraces of this era.[36] Next door, the Scottish National Institute for Blinded Soldiers and Sailors and its workshops occupied two adjoining properties.

Inside, the clubs, through their décor, were both monuments to regimental history and tradition, as well as endowed with more than a touch of quaint aristocratic charm. The task of acquiring objects was shared between a number of different groups (military and civil) and the resulting effect was usually eclectic regimental miscellany. Some came from the recycling of objects from other military sites. In 1922, Glasgow's HLI Club received a set of 19th-century photographs from the depot's Sergeants Mess that, with the passing of generations, had been rendered out of date. Its secretary noted:

> 'The Club is the place for all photos etc., which through time become obsolete in the Mess. No one knows anything about

[36]Andor Gomme & David Walker, *Architecture of Glasgow* (London: Smith, 1987), p.101.

them but in the Club there is always someone who had served the battalion in years gone by, and who thinks the world of the old photographs.'[37]

The rest of the club décor came from individuals, usually officers. The Gordon Highlanders Club, for instance, took a number of donations from Col. A D Bethune, including: portraits (the funeral of Nelson – 'the 92nd are clearly seen in it'), and photographs of Pietersberg Flags from the Boer War ('for those who were in the siege of Ladysmith').[38] Lieut. Col. Maclean gifted a number of stag horns for the decorations of the Argyll and Sutherland Club in 1926.[39] The Gordon Highlanders also received a series of mounted animal heads from an officer who had recently visited West Africa in the course of his service; its entrance halls also boasted aboriginal relics acquired in Australia.[40] The Cameronians' catalogue of artwork on display in their club suggests that narratives of regimental achievement within the Great War sat easily within other established regimental mythologies.

With their grandeur, both inside and out, we can draw parallels between these and the Working Men's Club movement of the 19th century, which then was still firmly in the hands of the industrial philanthropist. However, their interior layout and facilities would have been familiar to any user of the 20th-century progenitor – the Working Men's Institutes and Clubs – even if its connection with the

[37] *HLIC*, January 1922, pp.105–6.
[38] See *T&S,* July 1936, p.52 and Dec 1936, p.39.
[39] *TRL*, January 1927, p.18.
[40] *T&S*, May 1932, p.258.

upper middle classes was fundamentally retrograde by that point. The description of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders is typical in this respect:

> 'The building consists of four flats and basement, and on the various floors there is a billiard room, library…concert room, bar room, card room, three bedrooms, two dormitories (each containing three beds) and two bath rooms.'[41]

The activities and recreational pursuits offered were also similar to both Working Men's Clubs and other leisure patterns of the working and lower middle classes. Cinema may have dominated the leisure scene, but Glasgow provided other amenities, including billiards halls and dance halls. The calendar of club life, the social events organised on a weekly or fortnightly basis, catered for all such preferences, and more. As well as individual use of billiards, cards, the library and the bar, whist drives provided the core of entertainment. These, as J B Priestley observed, had become a particular craze amongst the 'small shop keeping artisan, and working classes' in the inter-war decades.[42] 'Smokers', dances and musical evenings also kept the club's social life busy for its members.

As underlined during unveilings and other high moments of celebration, the regimental club was intended to bring together past and present members to create a real sense of family. There are few ways we can adjudge the success of this aim. Certainly, the HLI's club facilities were available free of charge to the new arrivals to the

[41] Ref for this in the original text: TFL

[42] J B Priestley, *English Journey* (London: Mandarin, 1994), p.114.

regiment in training at the depot. The Glasgow Highlander club would also be easily accessible by past and present alike, considering the Territorial connection. For those regiments not so close to military training or administrative centres, the opportunity for regulars to access them would have been reduced, but it was not impossible. Clubs provided accommodation precisely for that purpose. The men of a battalion posted either to Hamilton or Maryhill, or officers spending time in the service of Scottish Command, might avail themselves of the facilities. Casual references in the *Tiger & Sphinx*, which seems to have mentioned this matter far more than others, suggests a variety of such visits: officers and men of the 2nd battalion, for instance, seem to have used the club whilst on furlough during their time in Northern Ireland in 1933; the journal estimated that 170 people had occupied beds, which suggests a fairly regular number of visitors.[43]

There are very few sources that describe in detail the kind of sociability of club life and how past and present generations intermingled. Associational life did attract men who had only seen service in the Great War; whether this element transitioned into club life is another matter. In 1931, a rare account of club life appeared in the *Tiger & Sphinx*. It is not without pitfalls: no article that did not describe itself as an 'appreciation' and the visit as a 'privilege' would have made it into the journal. Written from the perspective of 'Auld Bob' and his service buddy, 'Al-be-Seanyew', it concerns one visit

[43]*T&S*, May 1933, p. 335; March 1937, p.43.

paid by these former regulars and evokes the club environment in extraordinary detail. After their arrival, they pass through the billiards and lounge rooms, where games are in play, via the 'Mess Room' (dining room) where tea has been laid out for a whist drive, to the bar:

> The folk are evidently not all at whist, for here in the bar room, all complete with handy tables with rubber tops, sit groups of members; some at solo, nap or dominoes, others reading or chatting; but none too busy to give us the glad hand. Bob says 'D'ye ken ony o'them?' I look again, and here is big Rab Nelson, the stalwart back of 1898, with beaming smile, and at his elbow a pint in the course of attrition. They tell me that he and a few more had the time of their lives on the Struma, where he refused the crown of Bulgaria. What about the dead mules, Rab? Here also is Willie Pirie, the centre half of the same team of thirty-four years ago; age seems to rest lightly on them. Bob here calls the waiter. "See what the boys at that table want." "Six Pints, please." We see here also Ginger Nesbit, Charlie Wallace, Jock Bryce, and lots more who know us, but we cannot just place them.[44]

Bob's report suggests something of micro-generational affinities, rather than generational predominance: we know nothing of the other members of the bar that he does not know. It seems logical to suggest that it was those, like Bob, who had spent years in army service and who felt 'at home' in an environment that was both highly institutionalised and militarised.

But it was not a homosocial environment. Bob mentioned several female participants: the wife of the Club Superintendent, on her way to prepare the dining room for tea; 'other ladies' (one the wife of a

[44] *T&S*, November 1931, pp. 209-10.

former RSM) who trot up the staircase to Whist; the granddaughter of a now-deceased veteran entertaining a party of members in the drawing room through various musical turns. This seems to have been standard, with women seen as the creators of the domesticity that was such a part of the ethos of family. Most committees favoured family (ex-Army) men as Club Superintendents, who lived on the premises and acted as caretakers. Their wives regularly appear in reports of club life in regimental journals, congratulated for their hard work and endeavours. That the daughter of the Club Steward of the Northumberland Hussar's Club in Newcastle customarily assisted her father in the serving of drinks appears in a newspaper report when the club was fined £5 for selling drinks to non-members.[45]

Regimental Clubs were not the only spaces through which the military adapted urban leisure pursuits. Drill halls, barracks, and training ships could also be easily adapted for the purposes of recreation, by both old comrades associations and the unit or regiment. For the latter, it provided an additional attraction in the continual quest for manpower. Samuel Herbert remembered that the RNVR training ship, berthed at Elswick, was open each night to the crew, replete with a fully licensed bar and gym.[46] The 7th HLI altered some of the fabric of its drill-hall interior to provide a sort of club, seen as 'the means of attracting a good class of recruit', but which was also open to both past and present members. This consisted of a 'large hall and smoking room, with a large platform and screen for lantern

[45] DCRO. D/DLI/11/1/48. Press cuttings concerning the Territorial Force. *EC* 12/3/1933.
[46] Samuel Herbert, *The Avenue* (Stroud: History, 2012), p.238.

and cinema; a separate billiard room and a bar, with games of all kinds'. [47] For associations, drill-hall facilities had the benefit of keeping costs low. Glasgow and Newcastle's branches of the Royal Engineers Association based their sociability at their respective drill halls. Formal meetings in the latter, at least, were conducted in the Sergeants Mess, reinforcing the links between NCOs and committee membership. The ex-Members Association of the 6th HLI likewise held all meetings and social events at Yorkhill.

It was easy to adapt these large spaces for the purposes of leisure. Smoking concerts and whist drives, like regimental clubs, formed the backbone of regular military sociability within these sites. Each barracks depot communities and Territorial units ran their social calendars around similar leisure pursuits, albeit a less frenetic one. This kind of sociability provided another, less formal, way of linking past and present members. Few social events, large or small, occurred within the extension of an invitation to former members to join them. The Sergeants Mess at Maryhill Barracks, for instance, invited former members to their usual Winter socials, including an October Whist Drive and Dance at the end of 1929. It reported similar invitations, and participation, in all of its socials in April 1932.[48] The Sergeants Mess of the 5/8th sought the involvement of former members in a range of activities: to form a shooting team for the annual Wappinshaw; to join a farewell dinner for a retiring member a week

[47] *HLIC*, April 1921, p.62.
[48] *HLIC*, Jan 1930, p.30; April 1932, p.110.

later.[49] The 6th HLI Sergeants Mess were losing a billiards tournament to a team of ex-members in November 1931.[50]

Dining and Dancing: Reunions and Gatherings, *c*.1919–39

As well as helping military communities join past and present members, the performances of sociability were intrinsic to integrating them within local life. Both volunteer and regular military groups used recreational spaces to assert their identities within the urban environment and receive civic recognition. One of the most dramatic examples of this was the Northumberland Fusiliers Aid Society Ball (a celebration of county volunteer identity) held each year in Newcastle's Assembly Rooms to raise money for veterans. In 1933, the *Journal* declared that, considering the attendance of the Duke of Northumberland and his mother, it 'promises to be the most spectacular [ball] held in Newcastle in recent years, and will be attended by the principal members of northern society'. [51] This included Sir Leonard Milburn (one of the directors of Ashington Coal Company and former volunteer artillery officer) and his wife, whose sons were all officers in local volunteer units. The name of Colonel Cruddas, local Unionist MP and commanding officer of the 4th battalion Northumberland Fusiliers, also appears in the long list of names, which provided much of the newspaper reportage.

Aside from elite attendance, newspaper coverage focused almost entirely on fashion, which by itself constituted at least four

[49] *Covenanter*, December 1930, p.107
[50] *HLIC*, January 1932, p.5.
[51] *NJ*, 24/4/1933, p.7.

paragraphs. Like all other society functions, in which the north was not particularly blessed, the press focused on the 'lovely gowns' and beautification of the rooms. Ladies' dresses were described in rich detail (noting colour, cut, and material) and judged according to their style. However, regimental symbols and history were not out of place: according to the *Journal*'s 1929 report the:

> regimental touch was not found wanting in this charming picture. Drummers of the 6th Battalion in full dress – red coats and busbies – stood at the entrance; and there were sentries over the Colours of the 3rd, the 5th, and the 6th (City) Battalions, which made a gay place of the balcony.[52]

This was not a singular event in the city. Initiated just after the Great War, the annual Naval and Military Ball for former and serving officers 'from all parts of the area from Alnwick to Hull', held in the Oxford Galleries, received particular coverage in the *Newcastle Journal*.[53] As well as military participants, and their wives, this attracted a host of civic representatives and local elites. In 1937, guests included the Lord Mayors of both Gateshead and Newcastle, as well as Richard Embleton (chairman of the Watch Committee, himself a former volunteer).[54] By 1938, now including RAF elements drawn in from Usworth, it had been renamed the 'Services Ball' and had returned over 1,500 tickets. Like the Aid Society Ball, it received generous coverage: all officers attending were named individually, as

[52] *NJ*, 19/4/1929, p.12.
[53] *NJ*, 8/11/1935, p.11.
[54] *NJ*, 9/11/1937, p.9.

were their units. The scene was both sumptuous and fashionable – 'dazzling' according to the reports in the *Journal*:

> 'Officers in mess dress made the assembly more brilliant in colour than even the ladies in their silk gowns and jewels and many hued lamps festooned from the gallery made the picture gayer still. The ballroom had been specially decorated with flowers, ferns and flags.'[55]

Glasgow's military communities did not drive such performances, which probably underlines the connections between the Northumberland county elite and officership. However, the city did not exclude the military from glamourous pursuits. The Scots Flying Club ball was hosted annually by president Lord Weir, and his wife, usually in one of the city's premier hotels but, on the odd occasion, at Eastwood House, their residence in Giffnock. This gave space to one strand of Glasgow's officership. There had been a distinct relationship between the Flying Club and the city's Auxiliary Air Force unit, 602 Bomber Squadron from the foundation of the unit: the one relied on the other. In sociability, the two were also utterly interlinked. The 'Flying Personalities' (1933) or 'Notables' (1934) described by the papers were inevitably those of the squadron: the *Bulletin*'s reporter 'saw Air Commander and Mrs Baldwin and Squadron Leader and Mrs Fullarton – the latter wearing a slim fitting gown in a shade of blue'.[56] The Flying Club ball was, therefore,

[55] *NJ*, 8/11/1938, p.13.
[56] *Bulletin*, 1/11/1933, p.3; 10/11/1934, p.3.

militarised, to the degree that other military figures would both be invited and considered natural guests: that Ian Hamilton 'looked into the ball' was considered newsworthy in 1934.[57] The RAF and RAF Comrades also projected their own image of nonchalant 1930s glamour into Glasgow's public sphere.[58]

The military would not be completely outdone outside officer circles. With large areas for drilling and other army-related enterprises, it was no surprise that drill halls and barracks' gymnasiums presented ideal spaces for dancing and concerts. All that was needed was a little decorative inventiveness, which was usually supplied by the 'ladies' of the various officers and NCOs. The feminine touch gave drill halls a spectacular appearance, whilst military accoutrements such as trophies and regimental colours only added to the glamour, according to the military and occasional civic reportage. Drill halls thus transformed into dance halls, the sites of courtship rituals in urban life. This could generate some surprising juxtapositions between performance and material: dancing couples during the past and present members ball of the 5th battalion, Northumberland Fusiliers, in Walker's drill hall, performed against a background of trophies and shields (all on show); the band played on a platform constructed over a captured German Howitzer.[59] But this mattered little to the sense of glamour and excitement that was conveyed through the reports of the press and of the regiment.

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[57] *Bulletin*, 10/11/1934, p.3.
[58] *Bulletin*, 4/11/1935, p.23. Dance of the RAF; 2/11/1936, p.31. Dance of the RAF Comrades.
[59] *StGG*, 31/5/1920, battalion notes.

If the relations between the middle class and officership were underlined within space in these specific ways, most military communities, whether regimental or otherwise, also looked to urban sites of recreation to ferment their relationships, assert claims to local belonging and promote a public identity. Much of this activity centred on the annual 'reunion' or 'gathering' as it was alternatively called. These aimed to congregate large numbers of members within city spaces (restaurants, hotels, dance halls), to perform and promote the success and life of the community within the urban leisure scene. For a few associations (like the 6th QOCH Reunion Club, who met each February) it would be the only opportunity for congregating members, but for these and those who more regularly gathered, it was also a time to note the achievements of the association in a particularly public way.

Such reunions have been remembered more for their interiority: the secret society of veterans, men swapping stories and memories over pints, the singing of wartime songs. J B Priestley's account of his attendance at the 10th Wellington's first reunion in 1934 is one such account. Pushing through the crowd of 'roaring masculinity', he feels himself an outsider until he reconnects with members of his company in a quiet corner.[60] Some reunions may have worked more quietly than others.[61] It is easy to miss the formality of the reunion: the scale, the attention paid to dress, the pre-dinner speeches and the publicity

[60] Priestley, *English Journey*, pp.157–62

[61] Keith Grieves, 'Remembering an ill-fated venture: the Fourth Battalion, Royal Sussex Regiment at Suvla Bay and its legacy, 1915-1918' in Macleod (ed.), *Gallipoli: Making History*, pp.110-24.

committees sought. The importance of such occasions is suggested by the care and time spent on their organisation – tasks that, in the main, fell to secretaries. Even for annual enterprises there was much work to be done behind the scenes in terms of printing of ephemera (invitations, souvenir programmes, menus) and the choice of menus. The committee of the 6th QOCH Reunion Club met three times each year in order to organise its celebration at the Grand Hotel.[62] The secretary of the Glasgow branch of QOCHA recorded their efforts in a letter to the *Daily Record*:

> We fix our chairman for the annual dinner six months before, and give the news time to circulate amongst members. We have a good enthusiastic committee on duty all year, and six weeks before the dinner tickets are issued to them for disposal, while the secretary postcards all members. The Committee can meet most local requirements, and the secretary deals with requests by posts. Two fortnightly returns are made to the secretary, and two weeks beforehand the figures are compared with last year, when a redoubled effort is made by the whole Committee for a week and a further return made. The final figures are made to the secretary two days before, a small allowance – 5 per cent, or so, made for last minute enthusiasts, and the total passed to the caterer. Similarly the various speakers are 'warned for duty' and the menu cards drawn up a month beforehand.[63]

These sentiments reinforce how important the congregation of a large mass of members was for committees. Dinners and gatherings were ticketed, but prices were kept relatively low (5 or 6 shillings) in

[62] GULSC MS Gen 1376. Papers of the 6th Cameron Highlanders Reunion Club. Minute Book 1931–1974. Annual Report for 1931.
[63] *DR*, 9/5/1929, p.12.

order to attract the most members.[64] This produced between 150 and 300 attendees, a fairly good proportion of association membership in most cases. Numbers helped the community present an image of vitality, but lower ticket prices also allowed for the attendance at the lower end of the social spectrum. That the reunion was open to all members, irrespective of class, was an important message that the event conveyed and an important part of the claim of 'comradeship'. Press notices advertising them specified either 'no dress code' or, in fewer cases, 'a lounge suit'. Some went further. The Comrades League of the 19th Northumberland Fusiliers promised that 'privates and officers will be on equal terms'.[65] Neither money nor sartorial specifications barred men in employment from attending. There are also occasional references to the subbing of the unemployed. Twenty such members were noted as 'guests' of the committee organising the 11th reunion of the 50th Northumberland Divisional Train RASC.[66] Whether this was common practice or not is unclear from the available evidence.

Reunions demonstrated the spirit of community and comradeship – like all other acts of military sociability. Activity was carefully organised, even if it allowed space for informal social intercourse and circulation. Memory was not left to evaporate from the act of reminiscence; it was carefully channelled in a distinctly material way through the provision of souvenir ephemera. The

[64] To compare, the HLI's Officers Annual dinner in the Ca'adoro in 1923 cost 13/6d per ticket for non members and 9s for those who had paid a subscription.
[65] *NJ*, 8/11/1934, p. 12.
[66] *Newcastle Journal*, 27/4/1936, p.10.

flotsam and jetsam of overprinting now resides in regimental museums and local archives – a simple search of 'menu card' brings up *c*.250 results in the Imperial War Museum catalogue, for instance. However, always intended for individual use, committees conceived them as an aide de memoire of the group. They were handily available for personal acts of memorialisation on the night of reunion, as this description of a reunion in 1919 suggests: 'Immediately dinner was finished, there was a rush. The souvenir collecting fever recurred. Menu cards passed and re-passed for the signatures of the Officers; shy folk were not backward.'[67]

But reunions also had a public function. The settings of reunions mattered in both conveying claims to associational identity, and asserting a claim for civic recognition. Associations and other military communities in Glasgow and Newcastle held their reunions within spaces often with specific social connotations attached. These were well-known, fashionable venues. In Glasgow, the Ca'adoro, the Grand Hotel, Sloan's Arcade, and Ferguson & Forresters stand out as the most popular choices for regimental association. *Scottish Country Life* eulogised 'Ferguson's & Forresters' – where the 5th QOCH met each year until its closure in the late Twenties – as 'an institution of most notable repute for more than ¾ of a century'.[68] The Ca'doro occupied two floors of a spectacular Victorian building, a former warehouse, near Central Station. Its collection of dining, smoking and concert rooms advertised to city elite of the business districts, for both

[67] *StGG*. 31/7/1920, p.92.
[68] *Scottish Country Life,* November 1926, p. 380.

intimate business lunches and large functions.[69] Sloan's promoted itself as 'Scotland's most famous restaurant and the best appointed outside of London', particularly appealing to 'BUSINESS MEN' in its full-page advertisement in the *Bulletin*.[70] The Grand Hotel, another popular choice, in Charing Cross provided hospitality for a number of city organisations, including Glasgow's various Unionist associations.

It is much harder to reckon with the character of Newcastle's establishments. Very few dining guides, such as the Michelin Guide, seem to have survived in public archives for the inter-war period. The *Caterer & Hotel Keeper's Gazette*, which otherwise has been an invaluable source of regional dining trends, seems unaccountably poorly resourced by its north-eastern correspondents. Tilley's, where much of Newcastle's reunion effort seems to have taken place, was one of the city's foremost caterers and hospitality venues. They also owned the Assembly Rooms, and provided the food for the annual function of the North East Coast Institute of Engineers and Shipbuilders. Judging from the photographs of the occasions, the other popularly used venues (Crown Hotel, County Hotel) were of similar standing in the city.

These surroundings allow a comment on the hierarchical nature of 'comradeship': this virtue did not express class equality, deny class barriers or dissolve them. The leaders of military communities may well have belonged in these places, but many men would not have

[69] *Caterer & Hotel Gazette*, 20/4/1928, p.`126.
[70] *Bulletin*, 3/2/1922, p.21

done. John Burnett has detailed how 'Eating Out', particularly in the evening, remained 'even more dictated by economic gradations' in the inter-war years.[71] 'Comradeship' was a temporary relaxation of class rules and class boundaries, which underlined the middle-class element of patronage and social leadership. Few other events held within those walls would have accommodated quite such a spectrum of backgrounds. Work gatherings, particularly for major firms, may well have been the most similar kind of socials but they, of course, gleaned attendance from only one context. It was a distinctly military version of the democratising associational ethos evinced in societal political culture elsewhere.[72]

Such venues gave these associations status and a particularly middle-class public image. Performances within these spaces did not guarantee press coverage or civic attendance, but they helped attract it, mainly because they looked so much like the other events of public life. Most such gatherings garnered the attention of journalists and photographers, and the publication of their evening's doings thus became part of the record of local civil and business society. Staged portrait scenes, usually of the high-ranking members of committees, intermingled with other photographs of Rotary Club gatherings, Unionist meetings, carnivals and conferences that were the stuff of the local newspaper's pictorial pages. [Figures 32 and 33]

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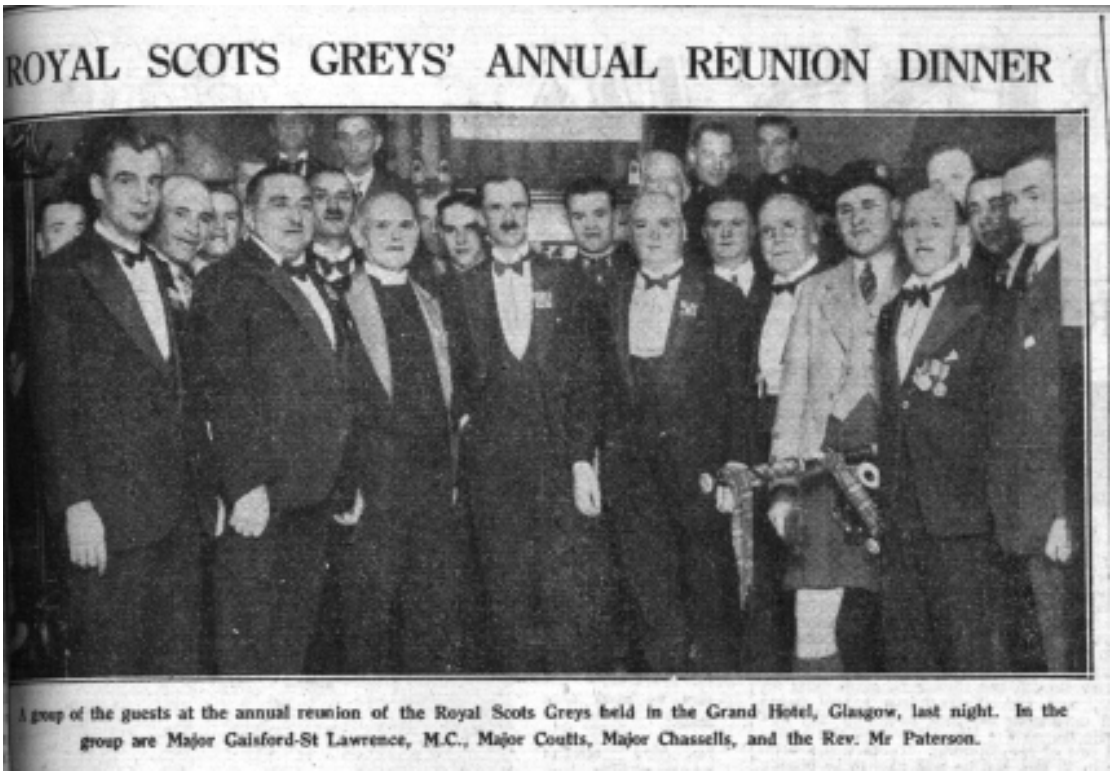
[71] John Burnett, *England Eats Out: A social history of eating out in England from 1830 to the present* (Harlow: Pearson/Longman, 2004), p. 195.

[72] Ross McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures: England, 1918-1951* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

The same effect could be achieved through the adaptation of drill halls or barracks, with a bit of decorative invention and a dress code. Reunion events were important ways for Territorial battalions to involve veteran members, thus celebrating comradeship and evoking past achievement. The reunion of the 1/6th Northumberland Fusiliers was held annually from 1925, attracting some 90-150 members of the original first line. Organised through collaboration between a veteran officer of the unit (Major Lovibond, Director of Newcastle Breweries Ltd.) and existing battalion NCOs, with the permission of the commanding officer, this dining ritual was considered fundamental to battalion identity.[73] The 1/5th HLI reunion, held in November and advertised in the columns of the *Citizen* and *Record*, was considered an 'important event' in the calendar of the

battalion, despite only involving those who had originally left with the 1/5th to Gallipoli in 1915.[74] Tickets, at 2/6, were half the price of those set in public venues, and this seems to have attracted high numbers: 160 attended in 1934, for instance.[75] As well as generating a lively reunion culture in Glasgow's restaurants and hotels, the 5th Cameronians celebrated an annual reunion each November from

[73] *NDJ*, 25/4/1925, p.7.
[74] *DR*, 29/10/1934, p.6; *GEC* 28/11/1936, p.9.
[75] *GEC*, 24/11/1934, p.9.



ROYAL SCOTS GREYS' ANNUAL REUNION DINNER

A group of the guests at the annual reunion of the Royal Scots Greys held in the Grand Hotel, Glasgow, last night. In the group are Major Gaisford-St Lawrence, M.C., Major Coutts, Major Chassells, and the Rev. Mr Paterson.

Figure 32 Reunions in Glasgow and Newcastle.

Above: the Scots Greys in Glasgow's Grand Hotel (*Bulletin*, 27/10/1934, p.17)
Below: the 18th Northumberland Fusiliers at the Trocadero in 1922 (*IC* 24/4/1920, p.9)

the pupils.

FUSILIERS' RE-UNION DINNER IN NEWCASTLE.

The 18th Northumberland Fusiliers held a regimental re-union dinner at the Trocadero Restaurant, Northumberland Street, on Saturday evening. The chair was occupied by Colonel Shakespeare, and the large gathering of old friends thoroughly enjoyed the festive meeting.

ST. JULIEN DINNER.

A reunion of those who took part in the Battle of St. Julien while serving with the 1/6th Battalion Northumberland Fusiliers on April 26, 1915, was held in Newcastle last night. Group includes (left to right): Lieut.-Colonel G. F. Bell, Lieut.-Colonel G. R. B. Spain (who presided), Drum-Major B. Snowdon, Lieut.-Colonel Eric Temperley, Lieut.-Colonel E. W. R. Pinkney, and Colonel W. Anderson.

Figure 33 Drill hall reunions in Newcastle and Glasgow

Above: the 1/6th at St George's drill hall, *NJ* 27/4/1932, p.13.
Below: the 1/5th at West Princes St. *Bulletin* 6/11/1933, p.26.

OLD CAMERONIANS FOREGATHER IN GLASGOW

Some of the guests at the first annual reunion since the war of the 5th Battalion The Cameronians (Scottish Rifles), which was held in the Drill Hall, West Princes Street, Glasgow.

1933 in their drill hall in West Princes Street, attracting 400-500 men in 1934 and *c*.300 in 1935.[76]

These events mimicked the formality of others held in public sites, as well as their class connotations. They too beckoned the journalist of the local newspaper and garnered some attention in the civic press as being worthy of recognition and mention. The photographs published of the proceedings depict a formal scene, with a head table of officers and adjoining tables for the men. It presents a similar scene of black-tied formalism and lounge-suited respectability with urban dining practices echoed by the table preparations : the neat tablecloths and decorations. The programmes, too, were remarkably similar, as the description of the 1934 1/5th reunion suggests: 'speeches, songs, and best of all, talk of old days, old places and old friends, filled up the evening pleasantly.'[77]

Reunions gave the military a public platform: most associations, businesses and civic figures used after-dinner speeches for the purposes of publicity, and regimental associations were no different. Speeches by invited chairmen and regimental representatives focused on the achievements of the past year and the health of the community. In Glasgow, it was customary for regimental associations to send representatives to various functions – the toast to 'our Kindred Associations' and responding speeches evidencing a pan-city movement of regimental affiliation. On a few occasions it

[76] *Covenanter*, January 1934, p. 166; *EN* 12/11/1934, p.4.
[77] *GEC*, 24/11/1934, p.9.

presented an opportunity for military communities to voice their very political opinions on matters like disarmament in an apparently apolitical environment. In 1929, Miss E Duncan, 'closely connected to the Royal Scots Association', spoke at the Scots Guards annual dinner and urged Britons not to 'lay aside that spirit of fighting with which they were born and which was one of the finest instincts' – a comment the *Herald* located firmly in the 'question of peace and disarmament' that had been occupying the public mind.[78]

In this sense, reunions were important, public events through which to reiterate civic–military bonds. Not all associational reunions captured the attendance of a civic leader or local politician. But it was a frequent enough part of public life to betoken a more general sympathy towards military effort. The annual gathering of the Scots Guards, presumably due to its aristocratic connections, was particularly well observed by the civic leader. In 1929, Lord Provost Kelly attended with the Sheriff substitute of Lanarkshire and Bailie, Thomas Scott Park, senior magistrate. The Lord Provost's speech bestowed civic praise on military service, past or present: 'No man could come to an assembly of Ex-Service men without feeling an affection and love for those who had fought their country.'[79]The next year, he replied to the toast to the 'City of Glasgow', one reinforced by Rev. P D Thomson's rehearsal of regimental achievement that went back 300 years.[80]

[78] *GH*, 4/11/1929, p.4.
[79] *GH*, 16/11/1929, p.7.
[80] *GH*, 22/11/1930, p.11.

In turn, reunions could also become moments to usefully assert the appearance of a strong leadership. In 1934, Kelly's successor (Alexander Swan – the first Lord Provost to preside over a Labour-dominated council) offered his assurances that the interests of the right would be preserved: 'he said he had warned the socialist leader that he would be wrong to make municipal work in Glasgow. Glasgow, he had told him, had been built up by profit making industries which had enabled people to expand their business and give employment.'[81]

Newcastle's civic favour was no less forthcoming. As Mayor, Arthur Lambert distributed the badges at the Northumberland Fusiliers Old Comrades Association gathering in January 1929.[82] Sir Thomas Oliver spoke in support of their endeavours at their annual reunion, held that year at the Crown Hotel.[83] He attended a similar function of the Old Coldstreamers' Association in 'recognition of his services to Old Coldstreamers' and to ex-service men generally' at the same venue later that year.[84] Civic–military unity was the subject of all toasts and the pre- and post-dinner speeches at the various luncheons held during the St George's Day week in both the drill hall of the 6th battalion and at Fenham Barracks.

In Glasgow, the sheer numbers and regularity of gatherings and reunions made them a particular genre of event within the civic public sphere and the urban leisure scene. If we take the Old

[81] *GH*, 10/11/1934, p.7.
[82] *NJ*, 18/3/1930, p.5.
[83] *StGG*, 31/12/1929, p.225.
[84] *NJ*, 18/3/1930, p.5.

Comrades Association column in the *Daily Record* in 1934:[85] January witnessed reunions of the Lovat Scouts, Black Watch, Gordon Highlanders, 7th HLI Officers and Sergeants Reunion, Cameronians (regimental), and Scottish Horse Field Ambulance Reunion. In February, the 6th HLI Sergeants Reunion, Royal Artillery, 5th Cameronians B Coy Reunion. Seaforth Highlanders, 16th HLI Reunion dinner, 8th Cameronians Reunion and Scottish Horse Regimental Reunion were all noted in columns – added to this would also have been the 6th QOCH Reunion Club, which did not advertise in that year. March witnessed the 52nd Lowland Divisional Casualty Clearing Station Reunion, Royal Scots Regimental dinner and the 9th HLI reunion, as well as the KOSB. In April, the 5th Cameronians C Coy met for their annual gathering, along with the 3rd Lowland Brigade RFA and the HLI Association.

Summer was quiet – annual gatherings and picnics characterised this month, rather than reunions, and the column was entirely absent for the month of September. Activity resumed again in October, with the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders annual dinner and the reunions of the Royal Scots Greys and the RAMC. Of course, the next month would always be popular amongst military associations: 'November is the month for remembrance and reunion in all military circles', declared the military correspondent of the Services Column of the *Evening Citizen* in 1931.[86] To a certain degree, this was correct. The year drew to a close with a flurry of activity from

[85] All taken from weekly samples of the column during the year 1934.
[86] *GEC*, 6/11/1931, p.6.

the Scots Guards, QOCH, 1/5th Cameronians, 17th HLI, 1/5th HLI, Royal Scots Fusiliers and Royal Tanks Corps.

Newcastle's reunion life was not as g as frenetic as Glasgow and, without any equivalent of the OCA column in the *Daily Record*, it is harder to talk confidently about patterns of meeting over a large period of time. Newspaper research has identified some trends. Like Glasgow, November was popular: the 12/13th DLI, 9th DLI, 8th Northumberland Fusiliers, 16th and 19th Comrades Leagues, the RE Association and the Old Contemptibles all held major functions in that month. The Old Coldstreamers seem to have moved to March by 1935.[87] April was another busy month for reunions in city spaces: the RASC marked their reunion each year from 1925, usually in the County Hotel.[88] The Royal Naval Division Association observed their Gallipoli celebrations in April from at least 1931 by holding a dinner in one of Newcastle's premier establishments.[89] Both coincided with various events held in the week surrounding the St George's Day observance of the Northumberland Fusiliers: the 1/6th reunion, and the various luncheons. There were those who bucked the trend. The Tyneside Reunion of Ex-Naval Men gathered in late May. The Tyne Electrical Engineers, based in Tynemouth, still held most of their annual reunions in the city each October.

That this form of sociability was crucial in sustaining some service identities can be seen from the example of the 'Naval Officers

[87] *NWC*, 2/3/1935, p.7.
[88] *NJ*, 27/4/1936, p.10.
[89] *EC*, 27/4/1931, p.9.

Reunion', a group of *c*.50 men who met annually in Tilley's restaurant in Newcastle from 1921–*c*.1934, ostensibly to mark the anniversary of Jutland. Some of them were patrons of the Tyneside Reunion of Ex-Naval Men, and would take part in the parade, which was usually held the next Sunday. The men all shared a history of naval service: most were either volunteers or residing on one of the naval reservist lists. Fundamentally, the bonds that bound the groups were civil: the association emanated from Newcastle's industrial society and its particular set of specialisms. They were members of Newcastle's second order industrial elite: directors of small-scale iron foundries or engineering firms, managers of workshops in Newcastle's famous shipyards.[90] They shared a technical education and expertise – the company also included the Professor of Engineering at Armstrong College. Into this melee were drawn a few key players from Newcastle's industrial-naval complex: the staff of the Admiralty's Department of Naval Ordnance, or the Royal Corps of Naval Constructors, who were working in Newcastle's shipyards or works.

Their connections were professional. Some worked together: Engineer Captain Robert Edwards was, for instance, supervising the construction of the gun machinery of Nelson and Rodney in Armstrong's Elswick Yard between 1922 and 1927; RNVR commander (Captain Ernest Swan), who ran the gun workshop there, would have worked closely with Edwards. Connecting most of them

[90] Biographical research gathered from the lists printed in newspaper reports, analysis of the relevant *Navy Lists*, and examination of the list of members of the North East Coast Institution of Engineers and Shipbuilders (NECIES).

Figure 34 Naval Officers Reunion, 1924.

Photograph extracted from *North Mail*, TWA.AF.RNR1.1577/32. RNVR Scrapbook.

membership of the North East Coast Institution of Engineers and Shipbuilders. There are three vice presidents of NECIES in the group, many appear on membership lists, and a few others appear in various guises in the transactions of the Institute, delivering papers or making comments in public lectures.[1] Each year, a prestigious guest of honour, a high-ranking naval commander, usually the Engineer in Chief of the Royal Navy, addressed the gathering.

There they celebrated the identity of the reservist, and particularly the naval engineer officer, in the manner befitting the upper middle-class professional. Newspaper reports focus on the 'cheerful behaviour' and 'good humour' of the party, notable virtues of the upper middle-class business elite.[2] They also described a sumptuous scene of fashionable urban dining:

> The decorations were particularly charming. The tables were arranged in oval formation and the space in the centre was a mass of palms, ferns, and evergreens, while about the foliage a miniature white ensign fluttering in a capricious breeze – a breeze ingeniously provided by a concealed electric fan.[3]

Here, class-based sociability reinvigorated service identities. On one hand, the gathering may have had recruitment benefits for the RNVR, albeit ones that evade evaluation: most years witnessed some sort of appeal to the men, as employers, to aid the cause of the Tyne Division,

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[1] TWA.IES/3/1 Lists of members, 1886–1968; British Library, *Transactions of the North East Coast Institution of Engineers and Shipbuilders* (Newcastle: The Institution, 1919–1939).

[2] Michael Dintenfass, 'Service, Loyalty and Leadership': the Life Tales of British Coal Masters and the Culture of the Middle Class, c.1890-1950' in Alan Kidd and David Nicholls, *The Making of the British Middle Class?: Studies of Regional and Cultural Diversity since the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud: Sutton, 1998). Chapter 13.

[3] *NJ*, 2/6/1930, p.3.

particularly in reference to engineer artificers. But, in the main, it demonstrated how important cultures of sociability were in sustaining identities that, like the reservist, did not have a routinized existence. This had, at times, a more programmatic and important aspect than might first appear: in the post-Washington world, the Navy would rely more on its reservists. In June 1922, the written support of Engineer Vice Admiral Sir George Goodwin was noted in the press: 'he regarded such meetings as a very important factor in securing for the Navy efficient reserves and maintaining the feeling of association with active service'.[4]As we shall see, with regard to this and other examples, war myths also provided an important binding force within military communities.

[4] *NJ*, 1/6/1922, p.8.

Chapter 7

Military Memory in Urban Spaces

Military spectacle both invoked and evoked memory. History, whether recent or drawn from the annals of the regimental past, mattered to the construction of military identity.[1] Parades (or the discourse that surrounded them) drew on these representations in the assertion of regimental identity. Moreover, commanders of local units also looked to draw in veterans, either through their links with specific associations or through the channels that the city offered them. Thus, for some, military parades and gatherings became sites of memory: they participated not because they had the imperative to do so from senior commanders or NCOS, but freely, because the parade gave them something in return: the chance to assert public status, a way to honour dead comrades, or possibly a moment to reconnect with an earlier episode of life history and a former self. As well as participating in military cultures, veterans also founded their own remembrance rituals.

[1] David French; Helen McCartney, 'Interpreting unit Histories: Gallipoli and After' in Jenny Macleod (ed.), *Gallipoli: making history* (London: Frank Cass, 2004), pp. 125-6.

But military parades had a wider commemorative appeal. They acted as urban mnemonics: their visual and aural elements inscribed moments into memory; the ritual regularity of performance prompted recall. The sight of marching troops incited public and private memories of military effort in an urban audience who all had their own military pasts in the inter-war years.[2] The veteran was an important, and meaningful, public figure, around which military myth could be spun. The urban ritual calendar of war remembrance extended far past Armistice Day and the early part of November. This chapter explores the mnemonic nature of those performances examined in preceding chapters. Parading and rituals of sociability, as well as elucidating founding myths and soldierly values, disturbed the routinized loci of the street or the restaurant, and injected other memories into the public sphere.[3] The public memory of war erupted through urban spaces far more frequently than has generally been supposed, and diverse meanings of the war co-existed within the city.

Military Performance: Myth and Memory, *c*.1919–35

The St George's Day observance in the Northumberland Fusiliers was not in itself a day of remembrance; at least, not the hermetic, grief-centred kind, envisaged by many historians of Great War commemoration.[4] Rather, it was a proud assertion of regimental

[2] For inscribing and incorporating practices see Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp.72-104.

[3] Paul Connerton talks about streets, and other lived urban spaces, as being a 'locus' of memory places which garner their own memories (customs, associations), but do not incite memory directly. Paul Connerton, *How Modernity forgets* pp.18–27.

[4] David Cannadine, 'War and Death, grief and mourning in modern Britain' in Joachim Whaley, (ed.), *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the social history of death* (Oxford: Routledge, 2011), pp.187-242.

traditions performed in the marching of colours, designed to inculcate esprit de corps. This aspect regularly fed through into the civic press, which annually explained the foundational myths of the regiment and translated the ceremonial practices of the troops into narratives of the 'ever Fighting never failing Fifth'.[5] The articulation of the regiment's 'tradition of 260 years' through rituals that the regiment had been observing 'since 1674' formed the mainstay of reportage of the regulars colours parade.[6]The meaning of the red and white roses worn by the soldiers, readers were told, was 'a privilege given to all ranks of the regiment in honour of the Battle of St Lucia, West Indies, 1778'.[7] The regimental colours, three of which were claimed by the regiment and marched on the day, inspired a similar lesson in regimental lore, particularly the 'Drummers Colour': 'a copy of the insignia which was captured by the French at Wilhemstahl in 1762' and had been destroyed in a fire in Gibraltar.[8]

That the press interpreted these military relics was understandable: these artefacts (the roses, the colours) were central to the ceremony itself. April was not dominated by regimental mythology in the civic press. Other war memories arose at the end of April. A particular feature of local reportage was, perhaps surprisingly, the raid on Zeebrugge in 1918, which had taken place on 23 April 1918. This had been a high-cost enterprise that had failed to realise its objective of blocking German U-boat operations from the

[5] *NM*, 28/4/1930, p.4.
[6] *NM*, 24/4/1935, p.7.
[7] *NM*, 24/4/1931, p.5.
[8] Ibid.

port. It had been touted as a spectacular victory at the time, garnering the award of six VCs. This memory would be complicated by the publication of the official history's fourth volume in 1931, which outlined many of the operation's shortcomings, but this did not stop the raid becoming a small, but vibrant, part of local and national memory on 23 April.[9]

Driving much of this were the rituals of observance to mark the event. These took place in several locations around the country. In Liverpool, an annual commemoration focused on the Mersey ferry steamer, the *Royal Iris*, which the RN had commandeered to take part in the raid, and which bore a memorial plaque. The ceremony joined together civic and naval representatives with relatives of the dead and other members of Liverpool's navalist society: the chaplain of the Mersey Mission to Seamen conducted the service. Additionally, there was a Royal Navy service for past and present officers in St-Martin-in-the-Fields in London, whilst the Royal Marines Old Comrades Association and the 'Zeebrugge 1918 Association' held a service in Dover.[10] Newcastle's press covered these ceremonies, and more. The *Journal* noted, in its editorial on St George's Day, that 'the Navy had a special claim upon St George since the heroic and historic exploit at Zeebrugge' in 1924.[11] A similar tendency was displayed in the *Chronicle*'s editorial two years later, recalling the 'never to be

[9] Henry Newbolt, *Naval Operations. History of the Great War Based on Official Documents* (London: IWM, 1931).
[10] These can be found in: *NJ* 22/4/1929, p.11, *NM* 25/3/1932, p.9, *EN*, 23/4/1927, p.3. *The Times* 22/4/1929, p.16.
[11] *NJ*, 23/4/1924 Editorial.

forgotten action' at Zeebrugge.[12] In 1933, two years after the publication of the history, the *Journal* featured the raid in a special feature, noting the 176 dead and 412 other casualties, but reprinting the reported words of Marshal Foch: 'a superb manoeuvre involving a common spirit of supreme sacrifice.'[13]

Zeebrugge did not belong to Newcastle or the North East – the area had no infrastructural relationship with the Royal Marines. However, it was probably just about relevant enough to its sense of local, naval identity to consistently warrant inclusion in the press, and it is an interesting example of the small and insistent ways that military (or in this case naval) memory might flourish. In 1923, the *Journal* used its editorial to argue that a 'seam of blue' should be woven through the St George's Day parade by an addition of a naval contingent.[14] This never happened, but that year the episode formed the basis of the sermon the Vicar of Newcastle delivered at St Nicholas cathedral. Speaking to an audience of 200 regular troop and 100 men of the 6th, he outlined the important values and attributes of the men who had undertaken the raid. His words were published in the *Chronicle*:

> That day, besides St George's Day, they would think of that great attack of the Navy on Zeebrugge. A sudden, unexpected and most wonderful attack it was. In 1918 when the burden of the country was almost beyond bearing, when a burden lay on the troops in France and of the people at home, in a time of great darkness, there suddenly shone the light of a great and gallant action. They would always think

[12] *NDC*, 23/4/1922, Editorial.
[13] *NJ*, 22/4/1933, p.8.
[14] *NDJ*, 23/4/1923, p.4.

on St George's Day of the spirit of the men who made the attack.[15]

Newcastle's press did continue to feature Zeebrugge within its wider St George's Day coverage. However, as the Territorials increasingly began to dominate the St George's parade, another mythology began to grow more prominent: the memory of St Julien. This was a near-perfect baptism of fire narrative. Underequipped and ill-prepared, on 25 April 1915 the 149th (Northumberland) brigade had taken 2,000 casualties, failing to take the village after the retreat of the 1st Canadian Division in the wake of the gas attack. This 'gallant effort' provided the stuff of battalion legend in the inter-war period. Some 119 men of the 1/6th had fallen in this battle, which only served to underline the grit, determination and ultimate heroic bravery of the callow troops.[16] At a time when local connections still absolutely dominated, St Julien had been a shocking first experience of loss for the locality and inspired much ritual effort during the war years.[17]

This battle memory had been raised occasionally throughout the North East in rituals of remembrance. In 1926, for instance, the 8th DLI marched through Durham to the cathedral to unveil their memorial, accompanied by contingents of the Northumberland Hussars and the RAVC – efforts seen entirely in service of the 'Ypres Anniversary'. Both the *Chronicle* and *Journal* accompanied their reports of the ritual

[15] *NWC*, 28/4/1923, p.10.
[16] This was a 2 hour operation. George H Cassar, *Trial by Gas: the British army at the Second Batlte of Ypres* (Washington: Potomac, 2014), p.72.
[17] FMA. 4th battalion Northumberland Fusiliers, press cuttings book details the rolls of honour compiled in the press across Northumberland after the engagement.

with histories of the battalion's war service and a summation of their achievements.[18]Yet, regarding the St George's parade, the mythology was never conveyed through performance: it was rendered by the civic press, who increasingly drew connections between the parade and battle remembrance. This, we must presume, was cultivated by the interventions of military personnel (commanding officers, NCOs) from within the battalion. This was not a tendency evident in the Twenties, but it became marked in subsequent years, after the 6th battalion had come to dominate the main city parade. In 1930, the 'Matters Military' column of the *Journal* was dedicated solely to an exposition of the importance of the battle, both as evidence of the local Territorial's military worth but also in terms of its connection with local audiences:

> 'The last week of April will long have poignant memories for many North Country families. Fifteen years ago the 30th Northumbrian Division, fresh out from England, were thrust into the 2nd battle of Ypres and underwent their first fiery ordeal in the momentous attack on St. Julien on April 26…..The history of those two strenuous days that followed represents an epic of pluck and perseverance and as a result of their gallantry the proud words 'St Julien 1915' are inscribed on the regimental colours.'[19]

The next year, a dedicated features article ('Epic of St Julien: Northumbrian Valour in the Ypres Salient') articulated the same message, with more emphasis on the callow bravery of the troops and

[18] *EC*, 24/4/1926, p.5. *NJ*, 24/4/1926, p.9.
[19] *NJ*, 24/4/1930, p.10.

a more detailed précis of the engagement.[20]In 1933, the parade was transformed into a ritual of remembrance, with the *Journal* headlining its coverage '18 years ago' and leading with an outline of the battle.[21] The connection was deepened by the extensive coverage, in the *Journal* and the *North Mail*, of the Rev Edwin King's (chaplain to the 6th and vicar of St Silas, Byker) sermon. In the manner of a unit history, this articulated soldierly values through narratives of testing episodes of warfare:

> 'one could still picture those gallant men going forward in artillery formation with shells bursting in and about them. One remembered with pride how the battalion continued to advance as if on a field day, unfaltering in the face of death. No man liked shell fire. It took a high sense of duty to keep your place when your pal was knocked out by your side.'[22]

The congruence of factors that generated such public military memories can be seen in the case of Glasgow, which had no equivalent to St Julien. The city's Territorial units' action at Achi Baba might have generated ritual productions on the streets of the city. It involved three out of the four HLI Territorial battalions (1/5th, 1/6th, 1/7th) and the experience fulfilled the gutsy wartime baptism of fire narrative that so appealed to the volunteer. None of the units had suffered as much as the 4th KOSB during the action, but deaths were not insignificant: the 1/7th reported 40 killed, 149 wounded and 53 missing. The action had also inspired ritualised commemoration at

[20] *NJ*, 24/4/1931, p.12.
[21] *NJ*, 24/4/1933, p.7.
[22] *NM*, 24/4/1933, p.11.

home at the time. In Partick, the recruitment ground of the 1/6th, the 2nd and 3rd line troops joined with relatives in a poignant memorial service that celebrated the 'brilliant achievements of the battalion'.[23]It was celebrated in the pamphlet printed by the city in conjunction with the reconstitution of the Territorial Army in 1920: Achi Baba – that 'never to be forgotten attack' – was their 'baptism of fire'.[24]

Yet there was no military parade or ritual in inter-war Glasgow that marked the occasion. There were probably several factors that stifled public remembrance. From the perspective of the urban environment, falling on 12 July, the anniversary coincided with the season of Orange marching that regularly brought sectarian violence onto Glasgow's streets. It is doubtful that any organisation would want to compete. There is little evidence of any military will to mark it, however. Timing may have been an issue: the anniversary came during a time when units were either preparing to leave for camp or had already left.

The most prominent regimental conveyors of 'military memory' in Glasgow were the Cameronians. This was, in part, because their identity was so ingrained in Scottish Presbyterian traditions, which had such wide currency in Glasgow, through their connection to the convenanting and the raising of the 26th Cameronians.[25] Their annual gathering, held each year in May at the 5/8th drill hall on West Princes

[23] GCA G2/3/9 Lord Provost's Papers. Press cuttings First World War, p.85.
[24] GCA.PA11/19. Miscellaneous Pamphlets. 'War Service of the Various Glasgow Regiments' (1919).
[25] Ian S Wood, 'Protestantism and Scottish military tradition' in Graham Walker and Tom Gallagher (eds.), *Sermons and Battle Hymns: Protestant popular culture in modern Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), pp.112–36.

Street, memorialised the raising of the regiment during this foundational moment of Scottish Presbyterianism, a period of bitter religious repression during the reign of Charles I known as the 'killing times'. Each year, all detachments of the regiment were represented at the annual conventicle in Douglas (held the nearest Sunday to 14 May) to mark the regiment's first moments. These narratives were also resurrected for the regiment's annual memorial service, which was held in August – the anniversary of the unveiling - around the Kelvingrove monument.

But the regiment would also be integrated into Presbyterian 'military memory' during the public observances of two notable battles in Scottish martial tradition: the Battles of Drumclog and Bothwell Brig. These engagements, one a victory and the other a defeat, had occurred within a few days of each other in June 1679, as Scottish Presbyterians rose against the religious repression of Charles II's post-Restoration regime. Both conventicles were popular, particularly the latter: Bothwell Brig's service, held in the field next to the monument of the battle near the south Lanarkshire town of Bothwell (about 10 miles to the south-east of the city), attracted in the region of 15-20,000 people in 1922.[26]This was not held on Glasgow's space, although it occasionally invited the participation of significant elements in the city and its surroundings: Glasgow cathedral ministers, Rev. Dr James MacGibbon and Lachlan Maclean Watt led the service in 1922 and 1925, Sir Thomas Paxton (recently retired as

[26] *Covenanter*, July 1922, p.40.

Lord Provost) presided in 1924; local aristocrats (Earl of Home, Marquis of Clydesdale) also sponsored it.[27] Glasgow's civic press disseminated its ideals of dutiful (military) service in the pursuit of religious liberty through its coverage of the event.[28]

If specific mythologies could be narrated through these performances, military memory also had a tangible existence in the form of veterans. Most parades called to former members of the unit to join them, and the response was of immense symbolic importance to them. Every year, in Newcastle's St George's Day parade, the regiment's various veterans groups marched in representative contingents behind the marching soldiers. From 1919, in the case of the South African veterans, and from the later Twenties for the others, these performed the same duties as their military brethren, laying their own wreaths at the bases of the various war memorials.[29] The regiment appealed to veterans in other ways. Invitations to *any* (non-association) former member of the unit or the regiment to join the parade were placed in newspapers, usually at the bottom of articles prefiguring the parade, outlining times and locations to meet.

The 6th battalion channelled the veteran remembrance of the 1/6th reunion, detailed in the previous chapter, even if it was not responsible for its foundation. This was held in remembrance of St Julien, and gathered only those members of the original 1/6th who had fought in the battle. Held close to the St George's parade, in the

[27] *Covenanter*: July 1924, p.49. July 1925, p.61.
[28] See for instance, *DR*, 6/6/1932, p.15.
[29] *NJ*, 24/4/1919, p.5.

battalion's drill hall, it became an established event in the regimental calendar. For the battalion, the annual observance was akin to the polishing of a battle trophy in what it said about the battalion and its men: 'the spirit of it all is considered to be one of the battalion's proudest possessions.' [30] Press interpretation also inflated the significance of the moment they were marking: the *North Mail* headlined the reunion as a celebration of a 'Historic Victory', the 'anniversary of one of the most historic actions in the Great War'.[31] In 1936, Councillor Pearson toasted the success of the reunion, the *Journal* reporting that the group had been 'maintaining the spirit of St Julien for the past 21 years'.[32]It was not theirs to maintain alone: the RASC marked their 11th 'Ypres annual reunion' at the Central Exchange Hotel in 1936, which drew some coverage, if not as extensive as the Fusiliers.[33]

The habit of military units to draw in veteran elements through performance was not unique to the Fusiliers. The RNVR, RE and RA parades all contained veteran sections. In the case of the RNVR, the ex-service part was played variously by the 'Tyneside Reunion of Ex-Naval Men' and those noted simply as RNVR veterans. Glasgow's Territorial parade, already large, contained no official ex-service component: St Andrew's Halls were already at bursting point. However, the RNVR public rituals (usually held in Greenock) were opened up to veteran involvement. In May 1934, for instance, former

[30] *StGG*, 31/5/1933, p.107
[31] *NM*, 28/04/1930, p.7
[32] *NJ*, 27/7/1936, p.10.
[33]Ibid.

members of both the RNVR and the RND were invited to the Admiral's inspection at the end of the month, with details of train times provided.[34]

Glasgow's Territorials, like the 6th battalion, did tend to hold up the original war volunteer for particular celebration, by facilitating gatherings of those original first line battalions. The reunion of the 1/5th Cameronians in November to mark the date of their first departure to France (the unit had landed at Le Havre on 5 November) likewise consistently drew on this mythology in a particularly public way, which was refracted into the focus of the civic press. In 1935, the *Evening News* followed up its usual report of the proceedings with a feature story of five friends, reunited the previous year, who had served together in the war: all had joined up as soon as they could and entrained with the battalion in 1914.[35]

Not just parades but most other military gatherings were regularly thrown open for veteran involvement. Even without glorious military credentials, their presence testified to the community and family of the regiment. When the 7th battalion, Cameronians, held their first social gathering after the war, which brought nearly 1,000 past and present members to Bridgeton's drill hall, its success was hailed as evidence of the eternal regimental spirit, that the motto: "'once a Cameronian, always a Cameronian' has a billet in hundreds of hearts."[36] The annual Sergeants Ball of the

[34] *DR*, 14/5/1934, p.22.
[35] *EN*, 31/1/1935, p.7.
[36] *Covenanter*, November 1920, p.34.

Northumberland Fusiliers at the depot consistently reported veteran attendance, which could be interpreted in all sorts of meaningful ways: in 1928, for instance, the reporter noted a 'touching sight' in an 'old veteran of at least 80 winters being led to his seat by a young 'un and a glass of beer set in front of him'.[37]

But if military groups attempted to harness veteran performances, parades in city spaces generated forms of veteran interaction they could not control, but that they could also find of immense symbolic value. Officers, particularly, watched the crowd with keen interest. In 1926, the 6th battalion's scribe noted that:

> from the moment we left the barrack gate until we arrived at the cathedral we were escorted by an ever-growing stream of old Fusiliers, till by the time we had reached St Nicholas there must have been many hundreds marching on either side and in step with the band, many with roses or a regimental badge in their coats…or showing they had once been Fusiliers by saluting the Commanding Officer as he passed them.[38]

The obvious importance of the episode, in outlining the vision of a regimental community created by veteran participation, is conveyed through these words. The numbers were probably overestimated, but the presence of many men wearing wearing red and white roses – 'probably in token of some old association with the regiment' – was noted particularly by the *Evening Chronicle*'s reportage that year, providing some verification.[39] That there were less rigid ways for men to use the parade and engage with military

[37] *StGG*, 30/4/1928, p.76.
[38] *StGG*, 30/4/1926, p.73.
[39] *EC*, 23/04/1926, p.9.

cultures did work for the regiment, but it could also be a source of annoyance. In 1931, the scribe of the 6th noted that, aside from the members of the Old Comrades Association who marched with them, a 'great many more were noticed in the street who might have been with us'.[40] Some men were obviously contented to mark their observance as onlookers, not marchers.

In this respect, it is interesting to note that, even though Glasgow's Territorial parade did not lay claims to memory, either through mythological production or formal veteran participation, it obviously inspired both. The following account appeared in Glasgow's *Evening News*, just after the Territorial parade in early May 1933. It describes one man's encounter with marching troops of the 6th HLI, on their way back to the drill hall after service in St Andrew's Halls.

> Queer the tricks memory plays on a man! Few would call that stretch of Sauchiehall Street between Charing Cross and the Galleries anything but humdrum, yet for five minutes on Sunday evening, my physical body indubitably on the pavement opposite Sandyford Place, the rest of me was far away in Gallipoli. So complete was the psychic transition, the old beastly smell was in my nostrils, and I came back to Glasgow only when I realised that I had raised my hand – to brush away the flies.[41]

The writer had obviously served in the 154th brigade, probably in one of the other HLI battalions, as he recalls standing on the scaling ladders and seeing the men of the 6th marching against the evening

[40] *StGG*, 30/04/1931, p.81

[41] *HLIC*, July 1933, p.242. 'Half an Hour in Kelvingrove' extracted from the *Evening News*.

sun. That it was reprinted in the *HLIC* testifies to its significance of such recollections to the regimental community, even if its tone was generally one of 'queer bewilderment' when it comes to a rumination on the big questions of war and peace. Moreover, even though the author had not planned the interaction, he goes on to describe others who had: a swelling crowd of what he describes as 'grey men' who walked alongside the men of the HLI. These he identified as old soldiers who had fallen on hard times.

The motives behind involvement invites discussion, albeit one that will be limited by lack of evidence. It is impossible to penetrate the meaning of the parade for the participants. Yet if the veteran memoirist was more prone to record disenchantment and alienation with military service, the veteran performer recorded pride.[42] For some, like the 'grey men' of the piece, participation offered the means to reclaim a public place in the world, a sense of belonging and respect that unemployment had robbed them of. For these, the food and refreshments offered after the parade, like that given en masse to 50 veterans in the Sergeants Mess of the depot after the St George's Day parade in 1936, offered not only nourishment but company and a sense of familiarity with surroundings.[43]

It is tempting to suggest this was yet another example of how military spectacle hoovered up the urban poor in the service of

[42] Joanna Bourke, *An Intimate History of Killing: Face to Face Killing in Twentieth Century Warfare* (London: Granta, 1999).
[43] *St George's Gazette*, 24/4/1936, p.3.

military renewal.[44] What the Kelvingrove account illustrates is more the many currents of memory that worked through military parades in the Twenties. The evidence from Newcastle and Glasgow suggests that parades were sites of memory, meaningful acts of memorialisation on a number of levels for some veterans who chose to interact with them. Particularly in the inter-war years, with such high levels of veterans within cities as well as an audience that remembered the military performances within urban space during the Great War years, parades, set ripples and waves of memory in their wake. It would be wrong to ascribe a few simple viewpoints to large numbers of men who all had different experiences of service and followed different paths in their post-war lives. As we shall see, the public face of the civic veteran was not alienation or impoverishment.

Veterans' Performances: War Myth and Memory, *c*.1919–39

Military or other service-based associations also asserted their identities in city space, and, in doing so, constructed an array of war mythologies. The complex interactions between military communities and civic groups, and how these produced collective memories particular to time and place, is illustrated in Newcastle's annual observance of the Battle of Jutland, which was particularly marked in the city's ceremonial calendar from 1921–33. This ritual was ostensibly driven by the 'Tyneside Reunion of Ex-Naval Men',

[44] Scott Hughes Myerly, *British Military Spectacle: From the Napoleonic Wars through the Crimea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996).

which had strong links to Newcastle's Navy League branch, the local RNVR unit and the community surrounding Tyneside's shipping, shipbuilding and industrial-naval complex.

The ritual started small. In 1920, the Reunion marked the anniversary with a dinner and reunion at the Roma Café. The next year, it had transformed into a public event, with civic participation: a parade of about 200 members, accompanied by civic representatives and a contingent of the Tyne RNVR marched to the Quayside, alighted on a tug boat, and sailed to Tynemouth harbour for a wreath laying service at sea.[45] By 1925, a firing party, colours and band added to the spectacle, which now included the Lord Mayors of Newcastle, Sunderland and South Shields, as well as Chaplains of the Missions to Seamen.[46] In 1927, the ritual became more city-focused: the wreath laying at sea was accompanied by a simultaneous parade on dry land from Newcastle's Town Hall to Jesmond's Holy Trinity Church, where the Lord Mayor attended in state with the sword and the mace bearers.[47] There were similar services in Jarrow, Sunderland and South Shields. In 1929, the ceremony assumed enough of a significance and long-term standing to be nominated 'Jutland Day' by the *Chronicle*.[48]

Jutland served as an entry point, not only for the Tyneside Reunion to promote their claims for recognition, but for the elucidation of key service values for still serving men or part-time

[45] *NJ*, 1/6/1920, p.4.
[46] *NJ*, 1/6/1925,p.9.
[47] *NM*, 30/5/1927, p.9.
[48] *NWC*, 8/6/1929, p.11.

volunteers. In 1924, when the boat service was cancelled due to bad weather, the service shifted to the city war memorial and the Town Hall, where the Lord Mayor of Newcastle spoke in praise of their 'strict discipline…[and] the self sacrificial nature of their calling'.[49] The next year, the Mayor of South Shields, in his address, declared that 'the Men of Jutland have left behind a splendid example for us to follow; an example of duty and responsibility and self sacrifice nobly performed'.[50]

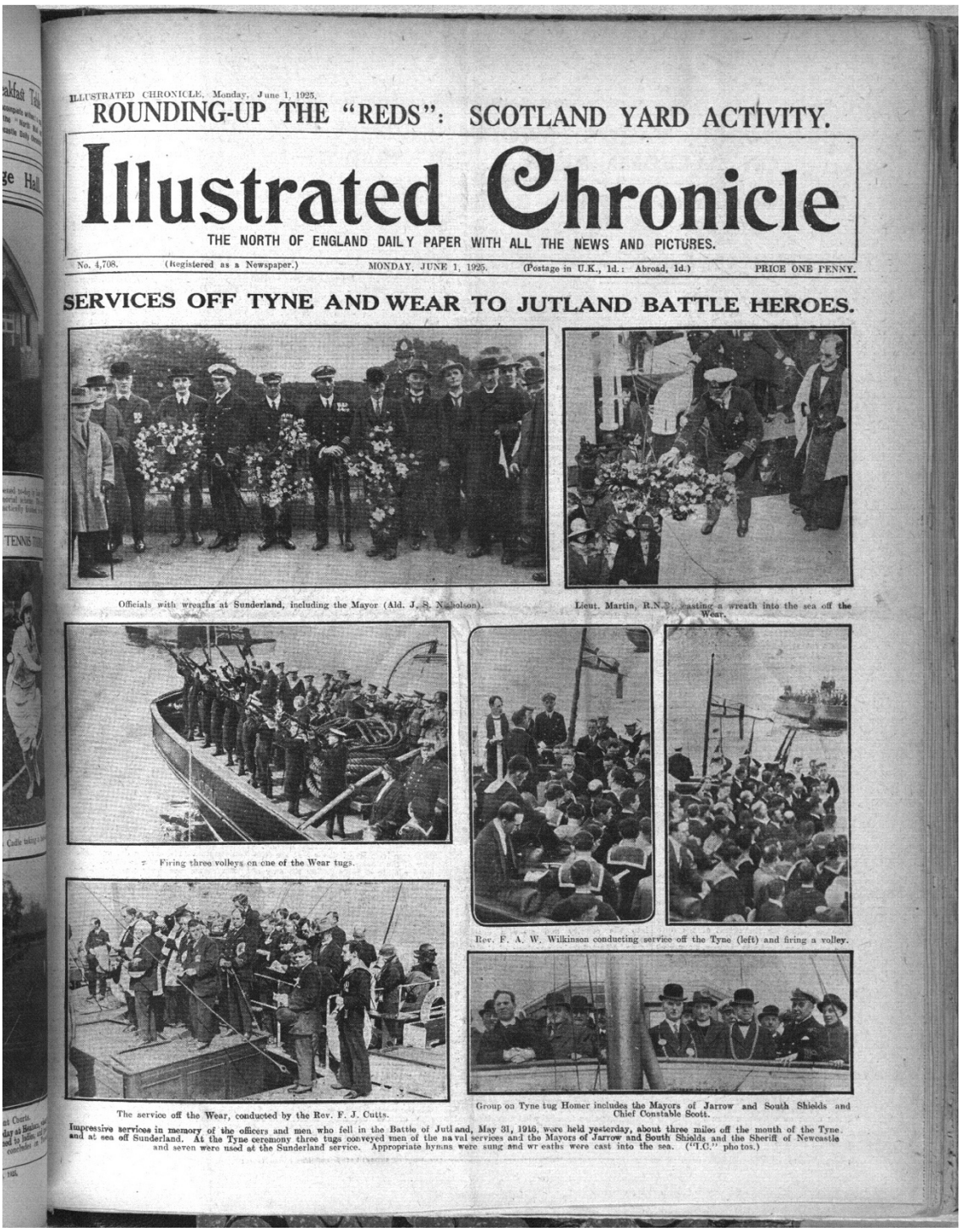
Increasingly, the parade drew together disparate ex-service and reservist identities. By 1926, it was, rather inelegantly named in the press: the 'Tyneside Reunion of Royal Fleet Reserve, Royal Naval Reserve, Royal Naval Division, Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve and Ex-Naval Men'.[51] The local RNVR contribution increased, as did the participation of its local commander, Ernest W Swan. The importance of Jutland did not lie in the outcome of the battle. That it *was* a victory was underlined not only through ceremonial largesse, but occasionally in editorials, such as the 1924 *North Mail*'s assertion that 'Jutland was for our Navy a great victory, though we have to admit that it was not so complete and crushing as this maritime nation could have wished.'[52]This did not matter: the losses the British sustained also served to illustrate the 'spirit, courage, sacrifice and devotion to duty' of those who served in it.[53] In 1931, Middleton Evans, the vicar

[49] *NM* 2/6/1924, p.7.
[50] *NM*, 1/6/1925, p.7.
[51] *NM*, 31/5/1926, p.8.
[52] *NM*, 31/5/1924, p.6.
[53] Ibid.

of Holy Trinity, underlined that 'at the back of it all was the beauty of real love that made these men think of self not others'.[54]

It remains to be asked why the battle mattered so much to the Reunion, and to the civic groups who sponsored it. Jutland, unlike St Julien, was probably not a common bond of service found in the Tyneside group, although it is difficult to tell with so little information about their constituency. Grief did feature occasionally: that 'several women relatives of men who lost their lives at Jutland' were 'visibly affected' at the sounding of the Last Post and Reveille, suggests that the bereaved were present and visible.[55] Newcastle had few ties of service that should have generated a collective identification: its contribution to naval service had, like Scotland, probably largely been in an infantry capacity.[56]At one level, as the Rev Middleton Evans declared, the ritual was 'comparable to Armistice Day' where 'they met to pay a debt of love, honour and gratitude at all times incompletely filled': [57] it was another opportunity to recognise the dead of the war. Civic attendance, too

[54] *NJ*, 1/6/1931, p.5.
[55] *NM*, 30/5/1932, p.3.
[56] Young, *Voluntary Recruitment in Scotland*, pp.92–5.
[57] *NWC*, 8/6/1929, p.11, *NM*, 3/6/1929, p.4.



ILLUSTRATED CHRONICLE, Monday, June 1, 1925.

ROUNDING-UP THE "REDS": SCOTLAND YARD ACTIVITY.

Illustrated Chronicle

THE NORTH OF ENGLAND DAILY PAPER WITH ALL THE NEWS AND PICTURES.

No. 4,708. (Registered as a Newspaper.) MONDAY, JUNE 1, 1925. (Postage in U.K., 1d.: Abroad, 1d.) PRICE ONE PENNY.

SERVICES OFF TYNE AND WEAR TO JUTLAND BATTLE HEROES.

Officials with wreaths at Sunderland, including the Mayor (Ald. J. S. Nicholson).

Lieut. Martin, R.N., casting a wreath into the sea off the Wear.

Firing three volleys on one of the Wear tugs.

Rev. F. A. W. Wilkinson conducting service off the Tyne (left) and firing a volley.

The service off the Wear, conducted by the Rev. F. J. Cutts.

Group on Tyne tug Homer includes the Mayors of Jarrow and South Shields and Chief Constable Scott.

Impressive services in memory of the officers and men who fell in the Battle of Jutland, May 31, 1916, were held yesterday, about three miles off the mouth of the Tyne and at sea off Sunderland. At the Tyne ceremony three tugs conveyed men of the naval services and the Mayors of Jarrow and South Shields and the Sheriff of Newcastle and seven were used at the Sunderland service. Appropriate hymns were sung and wreaths were cast into the sea. ("I.C." photos.)

Figure 35 Jutland observances, 1925.

Figure 36 Jutland observances 1921 and 1929.

Above: Wreaths on the sea. *NJ,* 5/6/1921, p.10.
Below: 'Jutland Day', *NM*, 3/6/1929, p.8.

could be simply explained by the general wish to sponsor the association.

However, the timing of the ritual is interesting. Jutland became a full-scale civic event in the years of acute economic distress. Other efforts of civic spectacle during that time, like the North East Coast Exhibition in 1929 and the Municipal Museum of Science and Industry in 1934, had conjured a confident assertion of industrial capabilities within city space – both to boost morale and to aid the effort of regeneration. This ritual belonged in that context, but it expressed a far more ambivalent attitude towards the region's dependence on industry and on the sea. In 1929, just a few weeks after the opening of the North East Coast Exhibition, Middleton Evans propounded that "the British people were essentially a maritime nation and that from the sea Tyneside had reaped much prosperity but, alas, much sorrow'.[58] In 1931, he propounded that 'they on Tyneside owed much to the sea, to which they sent battleships, ocean greyhounds, tramp steamers, and the floating docks'.[59]

Jutland marked service, but not just the personal service of its citizens. Like other naval spectacle, the civic involvement spoke much more about the region's relationship to the naval industrial complex. Middleton Evans' words above indicate a stoic resolution, a call to prayer, to endure the hard times because it was a natural corollary of what the city and the region did. The links between the region and Jutland may not have been ones of manpower, but they were ones of

[58] Ibid.
[59] *NJ*, 1/6/1931, p.5.

material. Armstrong Whitworth's naval yard had repaired several ships during the battle in 1916, notably HMS *Lion* (Beatty's flag ship).[60] The ritual of 1924 suggests that Jutland both mourned and marked these connections. Despite the bad weather of that year, which had diverted the service to the relative shelter of the war memorial and the warmth of the Town Hall, a special party did set forth downriver to the tugboat. They went to 'salute' HMS *Lion*, who was at that time berthed in a Jarrow shipyard: she had been decommissioned after the Washington Treaty and was then in the process of being broken up for scrap.[61]

The integration between the memory of Jutland and the industrial naval complex were underlined by the Naval Officers Reunion, which invited some discussion in the previous chapter. The polite respectability of Tilleys was transformed by material culture and through performance to become a space befitting a naval officer. The walls were hung with shell-torn flags from HMS *Lion*, HMS *Champion* and HMS *Barham*; the party joined in naval toasts; newspapers refer to it as the 'mess' or 'ward room' on occasion. The Battle of Jutland featured, not only in the purloined battle trophies, but also as a post-dinner speech. Press reports were vague on the matter, but probably only three members had been actually been in the battle, despite the anniversary ostensibly providing the binding force of the group: the reminiscence that was shared in post-prandial

[60] TWA.DL/CLR/2/6(3). Notes on Warship Repairs and Refits Carried out During the War by Armstrong-Whitworths & Co.'s Naval Yard.
[61] *NM*, 2/6/1924, p.2. and p.7.

anecdote (one recounted a shell coming through his cabin door) was not shared by the majority. In fact, Jutland featured less in newspaper reports than the industrial heritage the gathering also marked. In 1924, the presence of Sir Eustace T D'Eyncourt (former chief constructor of the Admiralty and NECI president) was marked with a eulogy to Tyne invention: "Tyneside produced the inventor of the first successful locomotive and, again, Tyneside had come forward with the inventor…of the tank'.[62] Most speeches foregrounded the particular industrial traditions that these men walked in the paths of, as the speech of Rear Admiral Robert W Skelton, Engineer in Chief to the Royal Navy in 1929 suggests:

> The Modern Navy was largely built on engineering and techniques developed in Newcastle to a greater extent than any part of the British Empire. Tyneside was indeed the birthplace of the modern man-o-war, and today the efficiency of the Navy depended more than ever on the seaman-engineer and the engineer-seaman.[63]

What is interesting from this perspective is that from 1933–4 the service became far more sectional. The large parade and service at the church abruptly ceased. The 'Admiral Jellicoe Lodge' (of the Tyneside Reunion) continued to mark the ceremony, but entered public culture in a much smaller way: through the reproduction of photographs of tugboats and wreaths on the sea that now characterised the service. The civic service in South Shields also lapsed in the Thirties, which

[62] TWA.AF.RNR1/1577/32. RNVR Tyne Division Collection Scrapbook: Unidentified article regarding the 'Naval Officers Reunion' from 1924.
[63] *NDJ*, 3/6/1929, p.10.

was probably related to the socialist majority in the council. The decline of Newcastle's service, which had achieved such civic recognition in the late Twenties, cannot be simply explained in political terms. In 1934–5, for instance, Robert Dalgleish, shipping magnate and former Vice President of the Tyneside Reunion occupied the Mayoral seat.[64] The death of Middleton Evans in 1934 was probably a factor, but this occurred after the first lapse of the parade. This may suggest something of the wider public memory of Jutland in the Thirties, but it is also likely that the ritual was not needed as rearmament breathed life back into Tyneside's shipyards. The Naval Officers relocated their efforts to HMS *Calliope* in 1934, their meetings held in March to commemorate the events of 1889, when the ship had weathered the Samoan hurricane.[65]

One battle that might be expected to generate a ritual culture in public spaces was, of course, the Somme. Both Glasgow and Newcastle could claim considerable links with the battle. In view of the numbers of men in a diverse set of Scottish infantry regiments, it was likely that a good number had served in the three Scottish divisions and other Scottish battalions that entered the battle, both on the first day and in the rest of the battle.[66] This included four service battalions of the HLI with particular civic connections, as well as the 1/5th Cameronians. Altogether, 23 of the battalions raised by the

[64] Dalgleish's money had paid for the refurbishment of Holy Trinity Church, where the Jutland service was held, as a war memorial.

[65] TWA.AF.RNR1/1577/32. RNVR Tyne Division Collection Scrapbook: Unidentified article, ''Epic of Sea Recalled: 50th Anniversary of Apia Harbour Escape, Dinner on HMS *Calliope*".

[66] Trevor Royle, 'The Great War' in Edward M Spiers, Jeremy A Crang and Matthew J Strickland, *A Military History of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), pp.516-9.

Northumberland took part in the battle at some point, including four of its first line Territorial battalions, and (famously) the battalions of the Tyneside Scottish and Irish brigades from Newcastle.

In Newcastle, however, the memory of the Somme was relatively quiet. From 1919, the Honorary Colonels of the Tyneside Scottish and Irish, the men who had been responsible for raising and equipping the original battalions, observed the anniversary. Each year after the war, Sir Johnstone Wallace (coal merchant and former Lord Mayor) and Sir Thomas Oliver laid wreaths of remembrance underneath the colours of the battalions hanging in Newcastle's St Nicholas' and St Mary's cathedrals on 1 July, although the latter practice may have lapsed after Wallace's death in the early Twenties. These tributes were noted in the *City Record*.

A stronger evocation of war memory was made, however, in the ritual parade of the Tyneside Irish Old Comrades Association, held each year on St Patrick's Day. The collective memory of the military commitment of the Irish remained an important bridge between the Irish Catholic and civic communities in Newcastle, and fundamental to claims of belonging. Even though the membership of the brigade had been Protestant as much as Catholic, its memory was claimed as a trophy for Irish Catholic Tyneside. Each year, the veterans marched to the war memorial, their secretary (John Erett) procuring shamrocks from a convent in Ireland for each man.[67] There, they joined with a civic representative, usually the Lord Mayor, in laying a wreath in

[67] Sheen, *Tyneside Irish*, p.184.

remembrance of the dead. The numbers could be impressive and civic participation, although never total, was enough to reassert the union between the Irish and the city. In 1928, for instance, the veterans marched 400 strong and, with speeches and wreath laying from the Deputy Lord Mayor and Sheriff on this occasion, the event was entered into the official *City Record*.[68]

Coverage in the civic press was rarely extensive, but civic participation highlighted the important connections between past service and citizenship. In 1935, the Lord Mayor (Robert Dalgleish) used his speech to evidence Irish loyalty through the brigade's war record.[69] This element to the parade was seized on by the wider Catholic community. In 1936, for instance, the *Tyneside Catholic Herald* reported that the Lord Mayor, who it described as clad in full ceremonial regalia, 'paid tribute to the gallant part played by Tyneside Irishmen during the Great War'. However, it was the Brigades first 'baptism of fire' on 1 July that was celebrated: their 'heroic exploits' and their terrible casualties, which numbered 2-3,000. This episode served well to illustrate the fundamental point of the piece: 'Irishmen have never been found wanting when the call of King and Country has sounded.'[70]In the context of the economic war of the Thirties, when Irish–British relations became increasingly

[68]*Proceedings 1927-28*, p.lxxii.
[69] *NWC*, 23/3/1935, p.11.
[70] *Tyneside Catholic Herald*, 20/3/1936, p.3.

strained, this ritual refocused Irish Catholics around key concepts of loyalty and sacrifice.[71]

In Glasgow, the Somme did emerge into the civic landscape in the early Twenties. On 1 July 1924 over 100 former members of the 17th (Chamber of Commerce) HLI paraded at Glasgow's newly inaugurated cenotaph in remembrance of their dead and service. Led by their former commanding officer, Lieut. Col. D S Morton who had led the battalion from 1914–16, the men marched from Royal Exchange Square to lay wreaths. The press reports noted the wider narrative of the memory they were attempting to conjure, recalling:

> 'when the 17th HLI…took part in the attack near Thiepval and suffered very heavy loss. It was the first general action in which the battalion took part, and the last occasion on which a majority of those present were men who left Glasgow in the Autumn of 1914.'[72]

Although there is some evidence that Somme remembrance was integrated within the Orange marches, it did not seem prominent within them.[73] From 1925 onwards, however, the memory of the battle was invoked through the combined Regimental Associations and British Legion parade, organised by a Joint Council of these groups, which assumed a central place in Glasgow's ceremonial life for the rest of the period.[74] Representative detachments, limited to 100

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[71] Kevin H O'Rourke,'Burn everything British but their coal: the Anglo-Irish economic war of the 1930s' in *Journal of Economic History*, 51 (1991), pp.357–66.

[72] GCA.G2/3/4. Lord Provost's Papers. War Memorial Press Cuttings. Unnamed newspaper report, 2/7/1924.

[73] *Sunday Mail*, 12/7/1925, p.16.

[74] Presumably the Council deemed a common entry point for servicemen, as well as having the benefit of occurring in the summer

men for each association in many cases, marched from clubs or drill halls to Blythswood Square. Amassing their strength, they marched to the cenotaph in George Square for a service and a wreath laying ceremony. After this: an inspection, a parade and a march past at the nearby Royal Exchange. Despite the apparently equal nature of the enterprise, the regimental associations dominated both in terms of numbers and iconography. They marched in order, 'all Scottish regiments were represented', with their regimental banners.[75] They laid wreaths in the form of regimental mottos or symbols. Even in the guard of honour, which was shared between the associations, the British Legion could not be an equal partner. In 1928, for instance, the 100-strong Guard consisted of 25 Legion members, with the other 75 made up of five representatives of every unit on parade.[76]

It also excited great civic interest, which occasioned the regular attendance of the Lord Provost and other civic elements (magistrates, deputy lieutenants) and religious figures. Police pipe bands and the Tramways Department band, who performed each year, furthered the civic connections. It also generated some significant spectatorship, at least in some years. In 1925, the *Evening News* reported 20,000-30,000 in George Square for 'Glasgow's Day of Remembrance', with thousands of others in adjacent streets – numbers not dissimilar to the Orange marches.[77] This attendance dwindled in later years and was lowest in 1931. This was not due to

[75] *Bulletin*, 6/9/1926, p.2.
[76] *GH*, 2/7/1928, p.12; *EN*, 2/7/1928, p.7.
[77] *EN*, 6/7/1925, p.7.

a withdrawal of civic support, quite the opposite. That year, the parade had been included in the official programme of civic week (1931), with the Lord Provost meeting the President of the Joint Council (Norman Macleod) for a public lunch before his attendance.[78] That year, *Bulletin* and *Record* recorded numbers upwards of 5,000 in George Square, which were hardly insignificant. The *Herald* could still eulogise about the 'citizens [who] turned out in thousands to witness the impressive ceremony'.[79] It was, after all, a Tuesday afternoon. From 1934, the civic press consistently estimated crowds upwards of 10,000.

Newspaper reportage was also subject to ebb and flow. The ritual entered the civic public sphere in a blaze of publicity in 1925. It made the front page of all Glasgow's dailies and evening papers, including a full-page spread in the *Bulletin*. In 1927, the *Herald* declared that 'today it had a special place in the civic calendar second only to the great day of national commemoration in Armistice Day'.[80]Interest did diminish after 1931, but part of that related to the tendency of capturing news photographically and through descriptive captions. However, in 1933, only the *Herald* treated it, and in an unusually short report.[81] It is possible that the choice of parade commander for that year, the Earl of Glasgow, was unpalatable even for Glasgow's right-leaning civic press. The next year it returned to

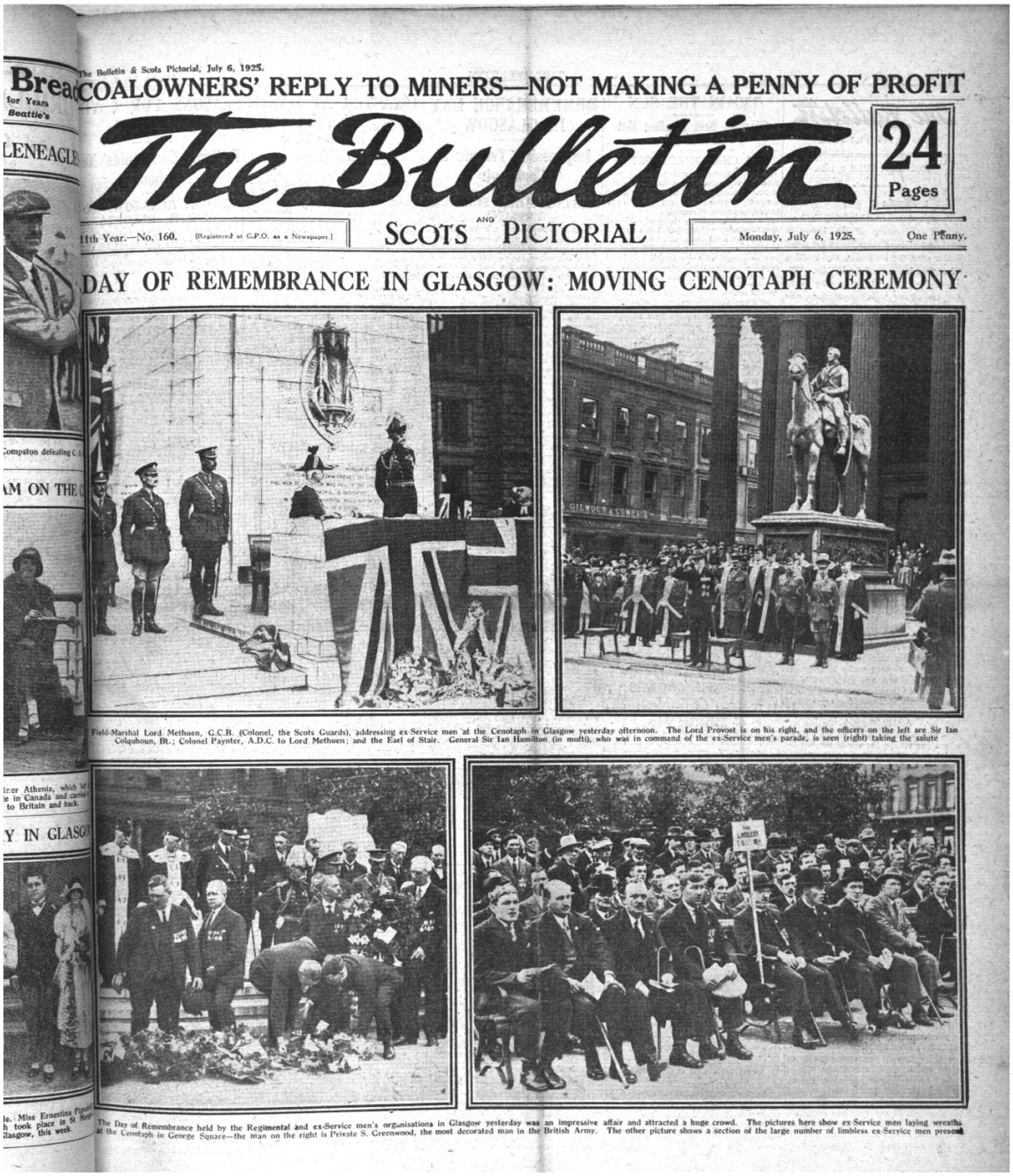
[78] GCA. G1/3/25. Lord Provost's Papers: Civic and Empire Week, 1931. Lord Provost's Engagements.
[79] *GH*, 1/6/1931, p.9.
[80] *GH*, 5/9/1927, p.13.
[81] *GH*, 1/5/1933, p.8.

all news organs, even if it was not recognised to the same degree as the mid-Twenties.

Even though the event centred on the Somme, there was very little that actually recalled the event. The date, for instance, sometimes fell near the 1 July anniversary and was held twice in September (1926 and 1927). But it was also likely to be held in early June. Moreover, Somme narratives of military effort were not the mythological core of the ritual. Newspaper reportage or speeches barely mentioned the battle at all. Even in 1928, when they paraded on 2 July 'no mention was made of that dreadful encounter'.[82] Perhaps narratives of mass loss complicated the effort of high celebration of veteran-hood, but this makes it difficult to understand how it was that the parade was conducted under the auspices of this particular battle.

What was lost in terms of Great War memory was made up in the appeal to older scripts of martial success and achievement. Each year, the commanding officer of the parade took the salute at the Wellington statue just outside the Royal Exchange. The past and present military leaders, who usually fulfilled this obligation, also celebrated martial tradition. Ian Hamilton, who commanded the parade in 1926, 1930 and 1934, was celebrated by the *Bulletin* as

[82] *GH*, 2/7/1928, p.12


The Bulletin & Scots Pictorial, July 6, 1925.

COALOWNERS' REPLY TO MINERS—NOT MAKING A PENNY OF PROFIT

The Bulletin

24 Pages

11th Year.—No. 160. [Registered at G.P.O. as a Newspaper.] SCOTS AND PICTORIAL Monday, July 6, 1925. One Penny.

DAY OF REMEMBRANCE IN GLASGOW: MOVING CENOTAPH CEREMONY

Field-Marshal Lord Methuen, G.C.B. (Colonel, the Scots Guards), addressing ex-Service men at the Cenotaph in Glasgow yesterday afternoon. The Lord Provost is on his right, and the officers on the left are Sir Ian Colquhoun, Bt.; Colonel Paynter, A.D.C. to Lord Methuen; and the Earl of Stair. General Sir Ian Hamilton (in mufti), who was in command of the ex-Service men's parade, is seen (right) taking the salute

The Day of Remembrance held by the Regimental and ex-Service men's organisations in Glasgow yesterday was an impressive affair and attracted a huge crowd. The pictures here show ex-Service men laying wreaths at the Cenotaph in George Square—the man on the right is Private S. Greenwood, the most decorated man in the British Army. The other picture shows a section of the large number of limbless ex-Service men present

Figure 37 Combined Regimental Associations and British Legion parade, 1925.

'real Scot, a man who loves and knows his Scottish warriors.'[83]That this included those past as well as those filing past him was evidenced by his expositions on regimental histories. In 1926, for instance, he used the combined Guard of Honour of the Gordons and the Camerons (that had been formed for his particular delight) to unravel some niceties of tradition: there had not been such a thing 'since the Battle of Sheriffmuir or perhaps the '45'.[84]

The marching veterans themselves prompted references to past times, however, and this intermingling of military tradition is immediately apparent from the parade's earliest years. With only a few representatives allocated, associations tended to select those who either had seniority in terms of age, or who sported the most medals: both evidenced the prestige of the community. In 1928, the *Herald* singled out the Cameronian men in the march who had fought the Zulu war of 1879.[85]An example of how this tendency influenced the representation of veterans can be seen in press treatment of 'Private Greenwood' (actually a former Sergeant) who the *Bulletin* and *Record* foregrounded in their coverage in 1925 – the year in which the connections with the Somme were most pronounced. The Seaforth Highlanders Association had selected Greenwood by dint of his being 'the most be-medalled man' not only in the association, but reportedly in the British army – a fact seized on by both the *Bulletin* and the *Record*.[86] He had won such distinction through meritorious

[83] *Bulletin*, 6/9/1926, p.2.
[84] *GH*, 6/9/1926, p.7.
[85] *GH*, 2/7/1928, p.12.
[86] *DR*, 6/7/1925, p.20. *Bulletin*, 6/7/1925, p.2.

service (he wore the MSM) but also through long service: he first joined the army in 1878 and his 16 medals told a record in Afghanistan, Egypt, South Africa, as well as the Great War. He was 66 years old when his photograph appeared in the papers. That this white-haired, moustached, man could come to represent the public face of the Somme [See Figure 38], which had such associations with the nation's youth, might seem inconsistent. But it demonstrates the ways in which the Great War's veterans and mythologies collided with those of an older vintage within urban space.

In asserting proud traditions, the parade also provided a counterpoint to other public narratives that questioned the war's meaning or its worth. It was an arena within which to speak far more confidently about victory. In 1930, Ian Hamilton urged his audience to 'Have Guid Conceit O'Yer ain Sel's' because of their achievement: 'Here are you. You have won the war. In spite of your modesty you know very well that you did win.'[87]In 1934, he told them that their service qualified them for particular privilege in the after life: 'conscientious objectors who got the billets would not rank so high in another world as the young soldiers who for the cause of freedom went out and got the bullets.'[88]In 1931, in the context of national and local depression, the *Herald* recorded the whole of Sir Ian Colquhoun's address and praise of those living and dead: 'no matter how dark the outlook, those men never had a thought in

[87] *GH*, 30/6/1930, p.14.
[88] *Bulletin*, 18/6/1933, p.3.

A SEAFORTH VETERAN

Private Samuel Greenwood the most decorated man in the Army, who yesterday laid a wreath on the Glasgow Cenotaph on behalf of the Seaforth Highlanders' Association.

Figure 38 'Private' Greenwood, 1925.

Above *Bulleting* 6/6/1925 Below: *DR*, 6/7/1925, p.19.

MANY DECORATIONS

Private Greenwood (Greenock), of the Seaforth Highlanders, who laid the regimental wreath at Glasgow Cenotaph yesterday. He is reckoned to be the most be-medalled man in the British Army.

their heads but victory. The tradition they left would remain as a priceless Scottish heritage.'[89]

The Somme was not the only mythological production inscribed through acts of performance on city space. The 15th HLI Association held an annual parade at the beginning of April to mark the anniversary of the unit's capture of Ayette on 2 April 1918. This was a point of regimental pride, not only nurtured by the battalion. The regimental history foregrounded the incident: After 'fierce' hand-to-hand fighting the battalion had cleared the village, leaving three officers and 35 men dead. Their conduct had earned a clutch of decorations in three DSOs, seven MCs, and 26 MMs. It had been widely admired and reported in the local press even if, as the author of the history bemoaned, it had been robbed of the treatment it deserved in the official history of the war.[90]

Glasgow did not forget. Each year from 1925, the association marked 2 April with a public parade and wreath laying around the cenotaph.[91] Numbers varied. In 1929, the Herald noted 200 men marching. All of them were ex-servicemen, the overwhelming majority were current employees of Tramways, at least in the early Twenties.[92] This was, however, a true corporation event. The Manager of Tramways oversaw the ritual, and, on most occasions, the Lord Provost took the salute on the steps of the City Chambers.

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[89] *GH*, 1/6/1931, p.9.

[90] The battalion won two DSOs, 6 DCMs, and 26 MMs. 28 officers and men were killed. Oatts, *Proud Heritage Vol 4: 1882-1918*, pp.372-6; Chalmers, *History of the Fifteenth Battalion*, 'Chapter VII: The Glory of Ayette', pp.147–62.

[91] *HLIC*, January 1926, p.80.

[92] BMS 26, p. 88 *GH*, 8/4/1929. *ET*, 3/4/1925, p.1.

15TH TRAMWAYS BATTALION H.L.I.

["Citizen" Photo.

The photo shows a party with the wreath which was placed on the Cenotaph in George Square, to-day to commemorate the Battle of Ayette.

Figure 39 Commemoration of Ayette, 1926.

[*GEC*, 1/4/1926, p.1.]

The ritual was quasi-military: the HLI's pipers or buglers took part most years, with the Tramways band, and high-ranking military officers inspected the parade: Col. N K Charteris of the Royal Scots (stationed at Maryhill) assumed this role in 1927; the GOC Scottish Command performed the same function in 1928 and 1929, alongside the Commander of the 52nd Lowland Division. It was noted in the *HLIC*.[93] This suited the public identity of the department, which had always drawn on military symbolism in its uniforms, incorporated aspects of military discipline into its work places and aimed for military-style efficiency.[94]

This ritual presents a clear construction of a specific 'civic–military' memory in the inter-war years. It foregrounded and outlined a narrative of service and sacrifice but also celebrated the civic achievement of it all. The report of the *Herald* in 1929, for instance, did not simply record the military action around Ayette, it highlighted Glasgow's civic contribution to warfare in a narrative of wartime mobilisation.[95] In doing so, it also highlighted Tramways' more glorious past. Since the resignation of its famous Manager James Dalrymple in 1926, the Department had suffered various slights to its integrity, from competition with private buses in the Twenties to a corporation-sponsored experiment with trolley buses in the mid-Thirties.[96] Tramways would eventually reclaim its primacy. Tramcars featured significantly in the coronation pageantry

[93] For example, *HLIC*, July 1926, p.144.
[94] Maver, *Glasgow*, p.127.
[95] BMS 19, p.88. 8/2/1929.
[96] GCA.D-TC15/2 Town Clerk's Press Cuttings details the plight of the trams in 1926.

of 1937. But it was not until 1938, when the Transport department endorsed the conclusions of a recent report that 'under the condition in Glasgow the balance of advantage is clearly with Tramways' – a resolution later backed by the corporation.[97]

If anything, the ritual grew more prominent as these impulses became stronger. Ayette proved a way of foregrounding the qualities of Tramways employees and achievements of the Department – a reminder of a time when it had evidenced its worth and efficiency through the fast and furious raising of manpower in a national crisis, and equally that the strength of the Department had been felt on the battlefields of France. In 1933, James Dalrymple returned to the parade, when he unveiled the memorial of the 15th HLI at the Transport offices in Bath Street and narrated the history of the raising of the battalion in front of association members, Transport officials and the Lord Provost.[98] That year, 263 members marched from the offices after the ceremony to parade around the cenotaph. Through the performance of this mutually beneficial war memory, it sought and received civic sponsorship and validation of its existence.[99]

The other meanings of war remembrance are not so distinct. In fact, it was common enough for very little to be elaborated from the act of performance. The observance of the 16th HLI, for instance, centred on Beaumont Hamel. This was one high-octane episode of endurance that warranted a chapter in the battalion history: at the

[97] BMS 38, p. 51. *Glasgow Herald*, 25/8/1938; p. 80. 15/10/1938.
[98] Chalmers, *History of the Fifteenth Battalion*, pp.189–190.
[99] *HLIC*, July 1933, pp.294–5. 'Famous Glasgow Battalion', from the *Glasgow Herald* 10/4/1933.

end of the Somme offensive, in November 1916, nearly 50 men of D Coy, isolated in Frankfurt Trench, endured siege conditions for over a week awaiting reinforcement or rescue.[100] They were eventually captured, but most survivors earned decorations for their valour. Every November, the 16th HLI Association, accompanied by HLI pipers from Maryhill Barracks, marched to the cenotaph and laid a wreath in remembrance. Occurring in the latter part of the month, it was distinct and separate from the main Armistice observance.

Newspapers consistently reported on the parade, but said less and less little about it. In the early part of the Twenties, it was more common for papers to include some elaboration of the Beaumont Hamel myth, even if this was contained within a caption to the photograph. They did not always relate the story accurately: in 1928, for instance, the *Evening News* headlined the parade's reportage with 'Beaumont Hamel. City HLI Commemorates 1917 Siege', which did not mention the action in Frankfurt Trench at all – just noted that 250 men had fallen.[101] As the years progressed, the subject of the observance emptied, occasionally to be filled by other discourses. In 1930, the paraders appeared in the *Evening Citizen* as 'Disciples of Peace' – their tribute, like the Armistice ritual, asserting the importance of the need to remember 'for the sake of peace, not for the sake of war'.[102] After that year, only the fact of observance maintained entered the public sphere, in photographs of the act of wreath laying.

[100] Chalmers, *A Saga of Scotland*, Chapter V 'The Epic of Frankfurt Trench', pp.57-68.
[101] *EN*, 19/11/1928, p.6.
[102] *GEC*, 24/11/1930, p.5.

ANNIVERSARY OF BEAUMONT - HAMEL.

Officers, N.C.O.'s, and men of the 16th H.L.I., place a wreath on the Cenotaph in memory of comrades who fell on 18th November, 1916. The front row includes Colonel Kyle, C.M.G., D.S.O.; Captain M'Pherson, D.S.O.; Sergeant D. M'Alpine, D.C.M., M.M. (holding the wreath); and Sergeant Henderson. These officers, and N.C.O.'s were among those who led the attack on Beaumont-Hamel, eight years ago to-day.

Figure 40 Observances of Beaumont Hamel (1916).

Above: *GEC*, 18/11/1924, p.1.
Below: *GH*, 20/11/1933, p.5.

The 16tn H.L.I. parading at Glasgow Cenotaph, where they laid a wreath yesterday. Colonel W D. Scott was in command.

Like their parades, Glasgow's reunion dinners also congregated mythologies and memories in public spaces for the purposes of identity construction. Like these, military memory had little logical relationship with patterns of service and more to do with the idiosyncratic development of veteran associations. Scotland had provided half of the men at Loos (1915), including two New Army divisions, and a substantial number in the Battle of Arras (1917).[103] Neither battle, however, provided the ideological spine of any ritualised parade, but the annual reunions of the 1/5th and 1/6th QOCH did invoke the memory of Loos as the binding myths of the group, which had a public resonance in both cases. Unlike Jutland, these were real bonds of service. The 'Loos Reunion' was enacted by the 1/5th from as early as 1916, when wounded veterans of the unit had congregated in Glasgow.[104]It was held in late September or early October each year throughout the inter-war period. In 1931, Loos was also marked by the 6th QOCH Reunion Club, who made it the mainstay of their gathering at the Grand Hotel each February.[105]

Very little was said about Loos itself, although the celebratory tone of the proceedings shrouded the battle. At certain times, such as when, in 1937, the 6th QOCH presented a trophy made out of an old school bell that one member had somehow extracted from the battlefield, individual experiences were elaborated, but this was

[103] Trevor Royle, 'The First World War', p.506.
[104] *79th News*, October 1919, pp.157–60.
[105] The club moved their remembrance to September after 1945.

rare.[106]The reunions were about a host of things: patriotism, 'cameron brotherhood', and duty.[107] It was far more common for the reunions of Regimental Associations to impart rafts of regimental tradition via their public reunions, rather than recall moments on the battlefield. Here, memories of the Great War interrelated with more established traditions, such as the 'old comrades [who] met after an interval of years once again to recount their experiences – not all serious and tragic during the Great War' within the Cameronians' annual observance of the raising of the regiment in May.[108] That the Great War could be identified within established martial traditions may have been comforting for veterans and families alike. In this, reunions provide yet another example of the continuity of war remembrance.[109]

[106] GULSC MS Gen 1376. Papers of the 6th Cameron Highlanders Reunion Club. Minute Book 1931–1974. Annual Report for 1937.
[107] *79th News*, October 1919, p.158.
[108] *Covenanter*, July 1930, p.42.
[109] Stefan Geobel, *The Great War and Medieval Memory*, pp.28–80.

Conclusion

The performances held in ceremonial and hospitality spaces within each city asserted the claims to local belonging, ones that asserted the relationships between the military and each city's middle class. In their very public appeal to the memory of the Great War, these groups also co-authored war mythologies within public space. This third part of the thesis has aimed to demonstrate the richness of urban war memory by highlighting these activities. The military, and their associated communities, were not the only groups around which war myths were spun in local space, but they were certainly the most significant. This discussion has aimed to highlight how war memory was shaped by a congruence of various factors (civic, economic, military). As collective memories, they testified to the persistence of groups and collaborations, once these contexts had disintegrated, they collapsed: certain war memories blazed through the public sphere, only to disappear soon after. But most were persistent enough to contribute to the public climate of mythologizing, which testifies to the civic–military relationship during this time.

There is much difficulty in teasing out themes from such diverse set of representations, but there are some common strands, including a particular emphasis on the early volunteer. So much of the civic–military mythology reached back to the earliest days of war; that Glasgow and Newcastle had monumentalised these narratives contributed to their perpetuation. Yet, the volunteer myth was an ecumenical one, which could apply to all periods of the war, and

which was constructed in the post-war assertion of the British volunteer tradition. All servicemen were volunteers. In 1923, the Vicar of Newcastle spoke of the men in the 1918 action at Zeebrugge in those terms, as all men 'who made the attack…all of them, he supposed, were volunteers…And that was the way civilians thought of the soldiers' profession as of men willing to give their lives for others.'[1] In 1937, Arthur Lambert, at the Armistice Sunday service, described the dead as the 'elder brethren who answered the Call and followed the motto "Quo fata vocant"' – a clear evocation of the moment encapsulated by the Renwick memorial.[2]

The image of veteran-hood (co-authored by civic and military groups, including veterans themselves) was also very different from other representations that focused on alienation or disenfranchisement. The 'civic veteran' was an urban type during this period, as characteristic of historically specific social forces as the 'flaneur' or the 'swell'. It was a representation unique to the inter-war period, born from the coincidence of so many urban veterans, the universality of medals, but also characterised through the democratising trends in inter-war fashion. Smartly dressed in the 'ubiquitous' inter-war suit, the civic veteran thus communicated the 'sartorial message [of] honesty…rationality, seriousness and discipline…the practical uniform of respectability'.[3] He presented a promising future of a military career.

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[1] *NM*, 23/4/1923, p.7.
[2] *NJ*, 8/11/1937, p.7.
[3] Katrina Honeyman, 'Following suit: Men, Masculinity, and Gendered Practices in the Clothing Trade in Leeds, England, 1890-1940', in *Gender & History*, p.429.

Small variations in cut and cloth revealed differences in status and wealth, but visually these men presented a uniform aspect. The civic veteran distinguished himself by his military gait in the march, as well the glittering signifiers of service on his chest. The tendency of photographers to focus on key moments – the inspection scene and wreath laying – reinforced their collective image. Through these public interventions, the 'civic veteran' thus communicated key messages of belonging. These performances did leave the political concerns of veterans to one side, but it could be argued that they asserted the notion of a debt owed to the nation's former servicemen. That this mattered to military communities can be seen from the description of the Armistice Day parade provided by the scribe of the RCOS 52nd Lowland Division:-

> 'We were justly proud of our own lads…Not all of them had medals to boast. Some of them were children on the first Armistice Day of all. We could not but admire the glow of health on their faces, the spring of their footstep, and the neatness of the dress. What a contrast were those smart lads of Signals to the old hands of Loos and Hooge and Albert in bowler hats, their medals glittering, and their chests out. So we lived an experiment in time back to the atmosphere of 1914-1918. We raise our hats to our Armistice Day contingent. They are lads who may perhaps some day parade in bowler hats, chests out, and glittering medals.'[4]

If details of war service receded out of newspaper discourse in the Thirties, the fact of their remembrance shone from the newspaper

[4] *The Royal Signals Quarterly Journal*, December 1937, p.563.

page. Gathered together, in restaurants and drill halls, they toasted their dead comrades, and rehearsed memories, both individual and collective. Yet, it was their social interactions that shone through press reportage, and their persistence as a group that was recorded via autograph books and menu cards. Their reunions belonged to what Catherine Moriarty has called the 'diverse remembering landscape' of the Great War's commemoration.[5] But they told a different story of war. Rather than mourning and loss, they spoke loudly of continuance and survival: they were, in the words of the 1/5th QOCH in 1927 a 'real live affair'.[6] This would be an important bulwark of (re)mobilisation within urban space from *c*.1935 onwards.

[5] Catherine Moriarty, '"Though in a Picture Only": Portrait Photography and Commemoration of the First World War' in Gail Braybon (ed.), *Evidence, History, and the Great War: Historians and the impact of 1914-1918* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2003), p.35.
[6] *79th News*, January 1928, p.44.

Figure 41 Inspection photographs

Above: *Bulletin* 7/6/1932, p.6. General Sir Charles Ferguson inspects the guard of honour with Lord Provost Thomas Kelly at the Regimental Associations parade.
Below: *EN*, 5/9/1927, p.2.

VETERANS WHO TOOK part in the Boer War at the South African War Memorial in the Haymarket.

Figure 42 Veterans & Wreaths.

Above: South African War Volunteers Association at the St George's Day parade in 1931. *NM*, 27/4/1931, p.4.
Below: Tyneside Reunion Ex-Naval Men, Jutland. *NJ*, 1/6/1931, p.5.

Figure 43 The Cameronians' contingent, Regimental Associations Parade, 1927.

[*The Covenanter*, November 1927, p.92].

Part IV

Remobilisation 1935-9

Chapter 8

War Culture in Urban Space

The role of the locality in the production of military power expanded and deepened during the latter part of the Thirties. 1935 was a landmark year in this respect. On 9 July the Home Office issued its first circular to local authorities regarding 'Civil Air Defence'. This lacked intricacy but made clear that civil defence (like public assistance and housing) would be delegated to local authorities. Until the issue of finance and government subsidy was resolved in 1937, this work was imaginary. It focused on fantastical constructions of defence administration and bureaucracy within corporation committees, councils and the public sphere, although both corporations trained some employees in ARP. After 1938, with funding in place and the pace of rearmament accelerating as the international situation deteriorated, both corporations implemented schemes,

raised volunteers and attempted to keep pace with the increasing manpower objectives issued to them by the state: they realised proto-wartime societies.

Military mobilisation also deepened within the locality. The downturn in the recruitment for the regular army, which typified the years to 1937, led to increased effort by the Army to integrate itself in local areas.[1] The policy encouraged 'At Homes', where depots threw doors open to the public, undertaken with gusto in Newcastle and Glasgow.[2] For the Territorials, the increased role of the TA in first coastal defence, from 1935, had some impact on Newcastle's Territorial infrastructure, albeit relatively small.[3] A massive change came in November 1938, when the TA's new role in anti-aircraft defence effectively redrafted the Territorial presence within each city, with units allowed to recruit 10–30% above establishment in the wake of the Munich Crisis. The doubling of the TA in 1939 further increased manpower pressures. In May 1939, the government passed the Military Training Act, requiring all males from 20 to 21 to complete six months full-time training before being transferred to the Reserve.[4]

In uniting the threads of this thesis in an exploration of the remobilisation of the military machine from 1935 to 1939, this chapter illuminates pathways between the Wars. It highlights the enterprising role of civic elites in building the consensus that underpinned the mobilisation process, as well as their pivotal involvement in manufacturing proto-wartime societies. Civic leadership drew on existing practices of mobilisation, and rituals of commemoration, in order to implement and justify the systems of defence for modern warfare. These

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[1] *Army Report 1935*, p.7.

[2] An estimated 50,000 people attended the Fusiliers' depot 'At home' in 1935, where the Lord Mayor (Robert Dalgleish) opened proceedings by firing the artillery guns.

[3] The 307th Anti-Aircraft Searchlight Company RE was based in Tynemouth, but three companies were destined for Newcastle. This was slow to get off the ground. The drill hall in Heaton was still not complete by the end of 1937 and recruitment was slow.

[4] Although the Military Training Bill allowed trainees to express preference regarding branches of the armed forces, it did not specify *where* a recruit would serve within the UK. Provision was made for a railway warrant and subsistence if needed (*The Times* 6/5/1939, p.9). Yet the expectation of local newspapers was that men would be sent to local military centres, and all local barracks prepared for the scheme.

performative strategies worked, not only to legitimise new wartime roles and identities, but also to inculcate the new wartime behaviours necessary for cities to cope with air raids. They also provided a vital role in channelling emotional responses away from fear or panic. As such, urban leaders must be credited with their role in preparing the pathway for the stability that would characterise the British war effort.

Business as usual? Labour and Civic–Military Relations, *c*.1935–7

Prior to 1938, there was no substantial reconfiguration of military power within either city.[5] Civic–military relations were conducted through the same channels, but 1935 did present a watershed in the political constituency of both civic leadership and councils. Newcastle's elections of 1934 and 1935 were Labour's finest hours in the city. Victories in 1934 did not create domination, more a fine political balance: the Council consisted of 29 'Progressives' (renamed just before the election), and 27 'Socialists', with one independent. Although with Aldermanic representation still a stumbling block for Labour (even by the mid-1930s they had only five members on the bench), the gap between the parties increased to eight. In 1935 this balance was reconfirmed in elections, but thanks to a reinvigorated 'Progressive Party', Labour's representation was clipped back to the levels of 1919–20 in the 1937 and 1938 elections.[6] Organisational weakness (it had blamed previous failures on 'lack of cooperation between Divisions and the City Party') probably combined with reignited faith in the national government's economic policies.[7]

In Glasgow, Labour capitalised on its historic victory of 1933. After 1934, it did not have to be concerned about the ILP contingent. With the addition of

[5] Boundary changes to Newcastle in 1935, which incorporated the Urban District of Newburn into the city, brought with them another Territorial unit of the Northumberland Fusiliers: the 4th battalion.

[6] Davies, S. and Morley, B., *County Borough Elections in England and Wales 1919-38: A Comparative Analysis – Volume 5, Ipswich-Newcastle upon Tyne*, (Ashgate Press, Farnham, forthcoming). This data was supplied prior to publication by the kind permission of the authors. See also *NJ*: 2/11/2935, p.9; 3/11/1936, p.9; 2/11/1937, p.9; 2/11/1938, p.11.

[7] TWA. Acc. 608. City Labour Party. 1932 report, p.9. *NJ*, 2/11/1937, p.9. *NJ*, 2/11/1938, p.9-11.

another seven seats in 1935, it could claim, at 58 representatives, over half of the chamber. As in Newcastle, an abysmal electoral record had forced a reconsideration of the antisocialist agenda, with the Moderates regrouped under the 'Progressive' banner in 1936.[8] This managed to crawl back from the abyss of 1935, and increased representation from 42 to 50 by 1937, probably due to the utter collapse of the SPL and other independents (there were four members in 1935) but also through the capture of a couple of ILP seats.[9]

Labour's increased influence, particularly in Glasgow, might have disrupted civic–military relations, but it did not. This Labour council developed a notion of municipal socialism that was progressive, but still located within constitutional monarchy. Whilst there was occasional rhetoric against displays of military force, and a near-banning of the Officer Training Corps in local schools, the council easily found a place for the military within its vision of corporation identity.[10] In its first large-scale elaboration of a Labour vision of civic identity, the council allied its observance of the centenary of municipal activity (marked through the Century of Progress exhibition) to the Silver Jubilee by holding it at the same time. The Labour version of patriotic spectacle was articulated through absence of patriotic ephemera, which emphasised frugality, but the celebrations were marked by a massive (free) military parade of regular and volunteer forces.[11]

The appointment of John Stewart as Glasgow's first Labour Lord Provost created little disturbance. Stewart's civic and business credentials, and his promise to 'make Glasgow prosperous', reassured the right-leaning voter. Stewart, as the *Herald* would later declare, was 'conventional in the part'.[12] Although there was a very public affirmation of a break with the past, when Dollan announced that Stewart (without the uniform of the Lieutenancy) would

[8] Maver, *Glasgow*, p.235.
[9] BMS 38, p.54. *GH,* 3/11/1937.
[10] BMS 34, p.74.*GH*, 25/6/1935.
[11] GCA.PA3/97. Municipal Pamphlets. *Centenary of Civic Administration: Glasgow's Souvenir of the Silver Jubilee* (1935). BMS 34, p.165.
[12] BM38, p.103. *GH*, 5/11/1938.

steer the Armistice Day ritual 'not in the capacity of a militarist but a citizen', there was little change in the formulation of the ceremony or its military element.[13] Stewart stood next to the GOC 52nd Division on the saluting base. His gestural modifications (he did not salute, but kept his arms by his side) did not stop the *Citizen* from captioning the image in the usual terms.[14] In 1937, with Stewart still present at the march past, the *Herald* termed it a ritual of 'unimpaired impressiveness'.[15]

Stewart did not lack invention.[16] But he largely did what was expected of him in relation to the military: he assured members he would 'carry on the traditions of office' at his first meeting of the TAA in January 1936;[17] he attended meetings as expected (still held in City Chambers); he advocated volunteer units in the corporation. He also worked to present an image of cordial civil–military relations. Although missing the 1936 Lord Provost's inspection of Maryhill Barracks (due to an 'urgent appointment' outside the city), he fulfilled the duties of 1937 and 1938 with cheerful aplomb: in '38, taking the salute of five HLI squads followed by lunch in the mess. Afterwards, he spoke on the benefits of soldiering as a career, in terms of 'physical well-being and self-confidence', noting the importance of the inspection in maintaining 'a connecting link between the Service and Municipality'.[18]

Stewart's major innovation was the absence of a civic chief from the Territorial parade during his term in office. This was due to his attitude to the Lieutenancy, which he couched in personal, rather than political, terms. As he explained at the first meeting of the TAA, he rejected the accoutrements of office because he did not think he had 'the necessary military bearing to carry a uniform

[13] For Dollan's statement see *GH*, 11/11/1935, p.4.
[14] *GEC*, 11/11/1935, p.5.
[15] *GH*, 12/11/1937, p.5.
[16] He advanced Catholics in public life (Gallagher, *Uneasy Peace,* pp.205–6) and became chairman of Glasgow's Peace Council.
[17] BMS 35, p.132. *Glasgow Herald*, p.132.
[18] *HLIC*, September 1938, p.164.

successfully'.[19] The narrative that he was a humble working-class man who did not want to appear to masquerade as an officer was reinforced by the fact that Stewart had been a private in the 3rd LRV (ancestors of the 7th Cameronians – a fact that the *Covenanter* noted happily).[20] Everyone in military circles could accept this as apolitical. The civic press stilled whatever ripples emanated from his absence by stoically not mentioning it. In 1936, the *Herald* praised the 'greater than usual public interest' demonstrated by extraordinary numbers lining the streets, noting a 'representative gathering of leading citizens' amassed on the saluting base.[21]

In Newcastle, the height of Labour strength also witnessed a great deal of patriotic spectacle, much of which was elaborated through military symbolism. There is no evidence of division in terms of the organisation of the Silver Jubilee or any indication that Newcastle's Labour group would have preferred a more frugal show. The programme of entertainments sanctioned by the council for 6th May was largely characterised by a review of Regular and Territorial troops, as well as ex-service men, held on the Town Moor, Fenham's artillery providing a Royal Salute of 21 guns. A crowd, estimated at 50,000, watched the proceedings.[22]

Regarding civic leadership, Newcastle's political forces selected men who were both pro-business and pro-military. Robert Dalgliesh, unionist and wealthy shipowner, had a salute for every military parade of 1934–5 (he took the salute of troops four times between April and May 1935, and fired the gun at the depot's 'At Home');[23] John Grantham, owner of a chain of cinemas in Fenham, had a setting at every military table in 1936–7.[24] Occupying office the year between them, however, was a man for whom military force was clearly distasteful. William Locke's leftist politics, his wish to rescue the city from the thrall of heavy

[19] BMS 35, p. 132. *GH*, 8/1/1936, p.132.
[20] *Covenanter* Jan 1936, p.200
[21] *GH*, 01/06/1936, p.7.
[22] *EC,* 12/5/1937, p.14.
[23] *Proceedings 1934-5,* pp.lxxiii–lxxviii.
[24] *Proceedings 1936-7*, pp.i–xcvi

industry, his deeply held pacifist beliefs, and his proletarian origins, differentiated him from any former incumbent.[25]

Locke's relationship with Newcastle's military communities allows us to see how ingrained the armed forces were in the city's civic culture. That this was not a man who found interactions with the military easy can be seen from the events surrounding the organisation of St George's Day, April 1936. Locke broke with the tradition of the past fifteen years and refused to participate. The rupture had occurred over a set of orders, issued by the Commanding Officer at Fenham, and sent to the Mayor's office. This outlined the parade in military detail, including the time and place (Stephenson Monument) of the Mayor's salute of the troops. It had fallen into the hands of a local journalist, who published it before it had been submitted for the Mayor's approval. Declaring that 'he was not going to take instructions from Fenham barracks', Locke withdrew his patronage.[26]

Despite this public slight, little altered in the conduct or appearance of the parade. Newspapers still conveyed a meaningful civic event. It was only five months since Robert Dalgliesh, who took Locke's part, had been Mayor; the presence of the Chief Constable and other civic elements, combined with the description of 'very large crowds in the streets' counterbalanced any decline of civic good will.[27] The *Journal* described it as 'one of the best St George's parades in some years'.[28] They also downplayed the issue: all the *Chronicle*'s productions cited 'personal reasons' at the eleventh hour for the absence of the Lord Mayor; the *Journal* did not mention it.[29] Moreover, both civic and military elements seemed at pains to resolve the issue. The Commanding Officer visited the Town Hall to explain the 'misunderstanding' – the *Journal* reporting that 'everything has been explained to the Lord Mayor's satisfaction'.[30]

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[25] *NWC*, 2/11/1935, p.13.
[26] *NJ*, 27/4/1936, p.9.
[27] *NM*, 27/4/1936, p.5.
[28] *NJ*, 27/4/1936, p.9.
[29] *EC*, 27/4/1937, p.5.
[30] *NJ*, 27/4/1936, p.9.

With regard to other moments of military performance, Locke also attempted to compromise. He negotiated with the Commanding Officer of the Royal Engineers, assuring him of his attendance, but deputising the speechmaking to the Sheriff.[31] A month after the St George's parade, he missed the Empire parade through a last-minute 'urgent' appointment with the Lord Mayor of London.[32] Yet he fulfilled other duties, such as the placing of wreaths on St George's Day, and sending a cordial telegram to the 1st battalion, Northumberland Fusiliers, stationed in Egypt. [33] Likewise, the *City Record* memorialised that Locke sent birthday greetings to Earl Beatty, as a freeman of the city. [34] That Locke felt constrained by civic practice is also suggested by his correspondence with the Tyneside Joint Peace Council, whom he turned down twice for civic patronage, although he offered encouragement: 'I need not assure you as to where I stand on the question of international peace and how I appreciate all the efforts that are being made to bring this about.'[35]

It was not politics, however, that changed the weather of civic–military relations. By 1937 it was clear that the government rearmament contract, and not regional efforts, was breathing life back into the shipyards and workshops of Glasgow and Newcastle and the wider region. Links with the military or naval-industrial complex became once more something to celebrate and promote: the armed forces, as part of that nexus, found themselves increasingly foregrounded within that project. A nascent defence structure was also emerging within urban space, with Glasgow's provisional organisation on display in the McLellan Galleries.[36]

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[31] MD.NC D/3/7/7 Lord Mayor's Letter Books 15 April 1936–1 July 1936, Letter to Captain CAW Pegler RE, 24/5/1936.
[32] MD.NC/D/3/7/7/ 15 April–7 July 1936. Letter to Crossley Fielden, Tyneside Peace Council. 28/4/1936.
[33] *NJ*, 27/4/1936, p.9.
[34] *Proceedings 1935–6*, p.lxxiv.
[35] ibid.
[36] BMS 36, p.103. *GH*, 27/5/1937.

These trends came together, to a spectacular degree, in the coronation festivities of 1937. In Glasgow, police teams who had received special training in rescue work performed their duties in an air raid scenario witnessed by enormous Hampden Park crowds. The celebrations also featured a huge military parade, with Stewart taking the salute, as well as a parade of military bands. These culminated in a fireworks display, which generated cameos of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, but which also celebrated rearmament: 'Four battleships fought out a battle with all the devastating effect and sound of heavy armament.'[37] In Newcastle, the deputy Lord Mayor (the Lord Mayor being in London) reviewed over 2,000 local troops, regular and volunteer, in an open-top car during the Coronation Parade on the Town Moor.[38] These were only shadows of the war culture that was to infiltrate local space after 1938.

Bulwarks of Defence: War Culture in Urban Spaces, *c*.1938–9

After the ARP Act of December 1937, the result of extensive negotiations between local authorities and the State, the issue of subsidies for schemes was enshrined in law. Under its provisions, local authorities submitted schemes for approval, agreeing to implement modifications if required. Sections 7 and 8 outlined government subsidy, gradated according to weighted population density: Newcastle received 70% of ARP finance under this reckoning, Glasgow 75%.[39] Local authorities now possessed the means to implement schemes, although the issue of finance would require some ironing out.[40] Newcastle's ARP expenditure, for instance, jumped from a paltry £507 (a third of which was allocated to publicity) in 1937–8 to £15,411 in 1938–9, although this was still well below the

[37] BMS 36, p.1. *GH* 13/5/1937.
[38] *EC*, 12/5/1937, p.14.
[39] APR Act 1937, Report of the Town Clerk to the Parliamentary Committee, dated 10th January 1938
[40] Much of Newcastle's major ARP spending was taken from the Capital Fund, essentially a loan, created by the Corporation's act of 1935.

estimated £72,002 envisaged in the scheme.[41] It increased by another £2,240 from the end of October to January 1939.[42]

From the start of 1938, therefore, both cities would step up their efforts to implement schemes: engage volunteers, instruct citizens and, importantly, mobilise populations generally around ARP. If these objectives had not been fulfilled by the time of the Munich Crisis in September, which has often been seen as a watershed in civil defence provision, they were well under way by the summer.[43] In June 1938, Newcastle's manpower objectives for civil defence stood at just over 5,000. The city had raised in the region of 2,700: its Air Raid Wardens were only 200 short of establishment (1,800), special constables stood at 300, and 600 men had enrolled in the AFS.[44] By the end of September 1938, Glasgow's stood at 7,926.[45]

The announcement of the major reorganisation of Territorial units hit local papers in the early part of October 1938.[46] The policy came into effect the next month, with dramatic changes at ground level. In Newcastle, the 5th Northumberland Fusiliers became the 53rd Searchlight Regiment (RA). The 6th battalion transferred to the Royal Tanks Corps, becoming the '43rd battalion. In Glasgow, three Territorial battalions converted from the infantry: the 5th HLI became the 57th Searchlight Regiment (RA), and the 7th HLI transformed into the 83rd Anti Aircraft Brigade (RA). The 5/8th Cameronians became the 56th Searchlight Regiment (RA). It was not only some of the infantry units whose role and purpose was altered. At the same time, the Auxiliary Air unit, No. 602 Bomber Squadron, became an army co-operation squadron, requiring over 100 additional men, only to be transformed once more in January 1939 when it

[41] TWA. Acc. 408 Chief Constables correspondence. ARP Committee. Total expenditure to 21st October 1938.
[42] TWA.MC.NC/94/16. ARP Committee 1/20/1939, Total Expenditure to 20th January 1939.
[43] Richard Overy, *The Bombing War: Europe 1939–1945* (London: Allen Lane, 2013), p.130.
[44] *NJ,* 7/6/1938, p.4.
[45] GCA.D-TC8/10//119.ARP: Recruitment and Training of Personnel. Statement showing the Number of Personnel Recruited for the ARP Services. 30/9/1938.
[46] *GH,* 10/10/1938, p.6.

became a fighter squadron.[47] Glasgow's artillery units were also affected, with the conversion of the 101st into the 54th QORGY Anti Tank Regiment RA and the 312th Field Battery now the 215th Anti Tank Battery.[48]

Additional units were also created to deal with the unique problems of aircraft defence, the major one of which, the balloon barrage system, was soon unveiled to the public, at roughly the same time as Territorial reorganisation.[49] This system of aircraft defence was organised nationally, but local geostrategic factors decided on the location of units. This was 'based on consideration of relative importance and vulnerability of points': Glasgow and Newcastle's population size and industrial importance provided their qualifications on both counts.[50] Glasgow's balloon barrage system involved 50 such balloons, manned by 550 officers and men. It was a 'local scheme….raised from local men', rather than a national one.[51] The Territorial Associations were selected to administer the system, dealing with organisation and recruitment, although Air OC Balloon Command retained control and there was a separate funding stream.[52] In Newcastle, additional to the city's balloon squadron, a new Territorials Signals Corps unit (No. 1 Company of the 3rd AA Divisional Signals, RCOS) was founded in April 1939 to provide communications for the anti-aircraft guns and searchlight units of Northumberland and Durham.[53] Glasgow also provided the home to a company of a new anti-aircraft signals unit, with others raised in Edinburgh and Middlesbrough.[54]

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[47] http://www.602squadronmuseum.org.uk accessed 12 January 2014.
[48] *GH*, 1/10/1938, p.7.
[49] We could also point to the Air Defence Corps, founded in December 1938. A joint production of the Air League and the Air Ministry, this enlisted boys 14-18 years on a voluntary basis to develop skills of 'air mindedness'. Both cities founded schemes under the patronage of local civil and military leaders: Glasgow's patron was Lord Weir. Glasgow also featured in the Air Observer Corps scheme, with London and Coventry. *DR*, 2/12/1938, p.4.
[50] *GH*, 10/10/1938, p.6.
[51] *GH*, 11/10/1938, p.10.
[52] LRCFA. Glasgow TAA Minutes 1939. General Purposes Committee Meeting, 10/1/1939.
[53] *EC*, 26/4/1939, p.5.
[54] *GH*, 26/04/1939, p.5.

In January 1939, at the creation of National Service, both Newcastle's and Glasgow's civil defence requirements were raised by the ARP Department at the Home Office and the Ministry of Health, after a review of schemes. Then came the doubling of the Territorial Army in April 1939: Glasgow's units rose from 5,278 on 1st November 1938 to 14278 on 31st May 1939.[55] To deal with the expansion, it created a new battalion, the 9th Cameronians, which was formed in June 1939. In Newcastle, an association whose establishment had hovered generally just under the 4,000 mark even after the increases of 1935, now had a manpower objective of 15,366.[56] This increase in volunteer establishment was accompanied by compulsion. Glasgow, for instance, counted 6,004 'militia men' in early June 1939, the immediate period after registration began.[57]

These reconfigurations put a great stress on local government and military networks. Corporations were accountable for the success of their schemes, to the state and to their municipal electorates. Civil defence as a municipal provision, akin to sanitation, health or housing (to which they were closely allied) made corporations absolutely invested in the success of their schemes. ARP became part of municipal operations and consequently subject to political debate and a measure of corporation efficiency. The project was, however, mammoth: volunteers had to be raised and trained; the public had to be assured of the viability of the schemes and informed of a host of new wartime roles (air raid wardens, decontamination squads). The populace had to be instructed in a new set of wartime behaviours: what to do in an air raid, how to operate a gas mask, how to negotiate a blackout. This interpreting role did not concern only civil defence, because military training, particularly for searchlight or balloon squadrons, was so visible within urban space.

The tasks were no easier for Territorial commanders, with the sudden influx of men creating burdens beyond the basic task of training: the effect on group

[55] LRCFA. Glasgow TAA Minutes 1939 .Meeting 6/6/1939. Statement of Strength, 31 May 1939.
[56] *NWC*, 1/4/1939, p.12.
[57] *GH*,17/07/1939, p.12.

cohesion and esprit de corps necessitated inculcating unit identity within far higher numbers. It was particularly disruptive for the cohesion of Territorial units converted from infantry to new RE or RA roles, as they adapted to new recruitment practices and training routines, and attempted to construct a new collective identity. Transformation did not dispense entirely with regimental identity (all units retained a notional link to their parent regiments), but it did upset it, as the reaction of the 5/8th Cameronians in November 1938 suggests:

> We are now preparing to "wind up" the 5th Battalion and by the time these notes appear we will have become the 56th Searchlight Regiment, Royal Artillery. While we will no longer be Cameronians in name, we very fortunately will retain our affiliation to the Regiment and through that affiliation and through the many memories that we carry on with us there will always be some part of ourselves deep down below our gunner uniforms that will be always Cameronian.[58]

The 5/8th were not alone in the feeling of disturbance. The 7th HLI, converted to a RA Searchlight unit, likened their first experience with the RA to being 'transported to the Moon'.[59] In this case, the 5/8th felt it could draw on its preceding identity to provide esprit de corps and cohesion during this period. For others, history and tradition, deemed obstructive, would have to be jettisoned.

Civic politics decided the course of mobilisation, both for military and civil defence. It is a shame that the only detailed study of Glasgow's politics, albeit one narrated through Labour's viewpoint, ends in 1936. By 1938 Labour had brought a socialist slant to municipal government, but had also adapted its politics to municipal rule. During 1937 it proved it could partner with Big Business to bring prosperity to the city, in the organisation of the 1938 Empire Exhibition. ARP was an important political tool for the Labour majority council.

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[58] *Covenanter*, November 1939, p.168.
[59] *HLIC*, January 1939, p.61.

The ILP's refusal to actively engage in the matter, and its political attacks on the issue (out of protest that it fostered a 'war psychology'), increasingly allowed Labour to display its non-partisan governmental qualities, whilst allowing it to offer a unique socialist take on ARP, including emphasis on the provision of shelters for tenement dwellings.[60] In Newcastle, political division existed, particularly concerning the procedural points of ARP financing, but it was from the start a bipartisan effort in the council, with the Labour minority following a Progressive lead.[61]

If ARP had become part of municipal operations by 1938, there were other reasons for councils to embrace the military defensive measures to which ARP was closely allied. Hanging over much of mobilisation, particularly in 1938–9 was the issue of the rearmament contract, the success of which was clear by 1938. In March 1938, civic and industrial chiefs on a tour of Vickers' works (Scotswood, Elswick and Walker) heard that the Naval Yard now employed over 18,000 men – a much-improved situation on the maximum of 4,774 during 1934 (the first year of the rearmament programme).[62] Acquisition of further contracts concerned both corporations greatly. As the government announced further components to the rearmament programme, both corporations asserted their 'unique' claims for consideration. In July 1938, after the allocation of aircraft factories to the Midlands was announced, Newcastle's corporation would fight for a reconsideration of governmental policy: sending a deputation to the various state departments, and seeking the involvement of the northern group of MPs.[63] The news that a government ordnance factory was up for grabs, in late November 1938, generated the same excited activity in Glasgow.

It was not that corporations realistically expected support of the state's military manpower objectives to determine their fate in this respect. There were,

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[60] For ILP attacks on ARP see, for example, Bruce Murray Series, Vol. 35, pp.54–6, BM36, p.150, p.15. BMS 39, p.132. 30/11/1938.
[61] *Proceedings 1937-8*, Council meeting 19/1/1938.
[62] *NWC* 5/3/1938, p.12.
[63] *Proceedings 1937-8*, Council meeting 6/7/1938, p.782.

however, suggestions that the one demanded the other. As Bailie T D Galbraith asserted, 'if the Corporation is not going to assist in the defence of the country it is unlikely that the Government will be disposed to place contracts in this area'.[64] When Patrick Dollan returned to Glasgow, after pressing Glasgow's claims upon Sir Kingsley Wood (Secretary of State for Air) and the Prime Minister, he wrote a letter to Wood 'thanking him for the kindly reception…and assuring him of the city's whole hearted cooperation in the efforts of the Air Ministry to strengthen national defences'.[65]

As Dollan's personal correspondence and interview with the Air Minister might suggest, civic leadership was crucial to mobilisation. As the most visible manifestation of local authority, civic leaders would further develop their intermediary role between the military power of the state and the local citizen in the production of military, and now civil, defence. Civil leaders provided the figureheads for ARP and, largely, military mobilisation in 1938 and 1939, providing a unifying force to nascent wartime societies. The difference between Glasgow and Newcastle's civic leadership did become more marked. Stewart's successor, and former conscientious objector, Patrick Dollan, had the opportunity to envisage a vision of leadership during a three-year term that Newcastle's successive Lord Mayors in 1937–8 and 1938–9 did not. But these still took their mobilising roles seriously.

From the start, Dollan took a far more active role in directing city policy than Stewart. On assuming office, he defined himself as the 'working Lord Provost', signalling a commitment to solve unemployment and improve housing further, as well as directing the city's ARP to protect 'all classes' of Glasgow's community, which after the Munich Crisis was a growing concern.[66] Importantly, this first policy involved a resolution to 'put Glasgow on the internal air map', an aim that had both a military and civil component: to secure a municipal airport

[64] BMS 39, 17/11/1938, p.118 *GH,* 17/11/1938.
[65] BMS 39, p.119. *GH*, 24/11/1938.
[66] BMS 39, p.100. *GH*, 3/11/1938.

with the aid of the Air Ministry, but also to promote the city's claims to the 'share of industry' within the rearmament programme.[67] Social and ceremonial duties, he asserted, would take a back seat.[68]

Dollan soon had the opportunity to put his plans into practice when, less than a week after his assumption of office, the announcement came that another government contract was available. It was Dollan who claimed the political capital.[69] He fronted Glasgow's deputation to the Air Minister at the end of the month (excluding all other political or conciliar elements) and claimed the credit when the government announced that, whilst not receiving a central aeroplane factory, Abbotsinch would become a repair centre and Glasgow's industry would be primed for sub-contracting through the Ministry's support.[70] Dollan had stolen a march on Glasgow's Progressives, with their leader left to assert in the local press that Dollan had taken their policies and excluded them from their prosecution.[71]

Newcastle's political culture, which still promoted an 'above politics' veneer, elected Newcastle's third Labour Mayor (the party's leader and tailor, Gilbert Oliver) despite the dominance of Progressive forces. In 1939, this truce seemed to collapse, with the appointment of both Progressive candidates for Lord Mayor (William Wallace, independent retailer) and Sheriff (George Dixon, draper). Neither Mayoral incumbent infused their term of office with quite the same political import as Dollan. Like their predecessors, however, they displayed a determination to improve the region's outlook through active involvement in its economic life. Further research would elucidate the issue, but it is interesting to note that the regional co-ordinating role with regard to the Tyneside Development Council, which previous leaders had undertaken (including John Grantham in 1936–7), seems to have lapsed. Effort refocused on opportunities of

[67] BMS 39 p.101. *GH*, 4/11/1938.
[68] BMS 39, p.102. *GH*, 4/11/1938. 'The New Lord Provost' (Editorial)
[69] *DR*, 10/11/1938, p.11.
[70] BMS 39, p.124. *GH* 1/12/1938.
[71] BMS 39, p.115. *GH*, 18/11/1938.

rearmament, with Gilbert heading a deputation to the Air Minister in June 1938. This secured only a 'frank statement' from Wood: a government aircraft factory was 'not going to happen', but the government would not encourage private industry to build them in the region.[72] Although the council sought to involve the Northern Group of MPs in the matter, they were anxious not to cause trouble when such a definitive answer had been given.

Neither the investment of councils in ARP as a municipal project, nor the wish to promote their patriotic credentials to Whitehall, yielded urban space unconditionally for the purposes of defence; although there were some creative suggestions about how corporation services might be adapted.[73] Often, defence lost out, particularly when it came to a choice between military groups and existing corporation services and policies. In Glasgow, where the creation of a greater military infrastructure put the matter more frequently before the council, this showed most of all. The Health Committee agreed to support any protest of the trustees of the David Elder Infirmary against the establishment of the headquarters of an anti-aircraft Territorial unit, which Glasgow's TAA was looking to erect in the 'immediate neighbourhood' of the Southern General Hospital.[74] The request by the TAA for the 56th Searchlight Regiment RA to use the children's playground in Kelvingrove Park for training was 'not entertained' by the Parks Committee.[75]

Then came the burning issue of Territorial camp. In April 1938, Glasgow's TAA wrote a letter to the corporation, emphasising the vital anti-aircraft work of the association, and asking the corporation to grant leave *with* pay to Territorials in their employ. Considered by the Special Committee on Service, it was defeated

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[72] *Proceedings 1937–8,* Council Meeting, 6/7/1938, p.782.

[73] BMS, 38, GH 17/6/1938. Gavin MacArthur, Glasgow's Assistant Director of Cleansing, called for the purchase of large capacity waste vehicles 'specifically designed for effective use in decontamination services' (and that could double as auxiliary fire fighting appliances) at a conference of the Institute of Public Cleansing at St Andrew's Halls.

[74] GCA. C1/3/98. Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow April 1938 – November 1938. Minutes of the Health Committee, 3/8/1938, p.2352.

[75] GCA. C1/3/98. Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow April 1938 – November 1938. Meeting of the Parks Committee, 1/2/1939,p.861.

7-4, despite Dollan's motion that departmental heads should be allowed to grant extra leave *without* pay.[76] This generated furore that drew local and national attention to the corporation in the summer of 1938. The TAA's chairman declared that the corporation wished to penalise 'any person who has anything to do with the Territorial Army', a shaky claim when the meeting was held inside City Chambers.[77]Hore-Belisha, in the House of Commons, suggested that 'Glasgow Corporation does everything it can to hinder the work of those units created for the defence of the city' – a claim he reiterated during his high-profile visit to the Exhibition.[78]

The attacks were unfair, but were indicative of how military groups, and conservative ministers, still viewed socialist administrations in the late Thirties. The Corporation's policy had, after all, been originally formed by a Moderate administration in 1922. The Municipal Transport Committee accepted the offer of the Territorial Association to reserve one company of 300 men to form a Transport Company from its employees.[79] The next year they agreed to exhibit promotional posters in various transport depots inviting employees to join the 2/6th battalion, HLI.[80] The application from the secretary of the TAA for the use of the circus in Kelvin Hall for one week in February 1939 for a military display to aid recruitment, split the Kelvin Hall Committee in April 1938 but *passed* a general vote in the corporation the next month by an astonishing 61 votes in favour to 9 against.[81] The Corporation also overturned Parks Committee's

[76] GCA. C1/3/97. Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow, November 1937 – April 1938. Minutes of the Special Committee on Conditions of Service 5/4/1938, p.1369.
[77] BM38, p.19.*GH*, 8/6/1938.
[78] BM38, p.25. *EN* 22/6/1938.
[79] [79] GCA. C1/3/98. Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow, April 1938–November 1938. Meeting of the Municipal Transport Committee 21/9/1938, p.2702.
[80] GCA. C1/3/98. Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow, April 1938–November 1938. Meeting of the Municipal Transport Sub Committee on Finance and Works 21/9/1938, p.1895.
[81] GCA. C1/3/98. Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow, April 1938–November 1938. Meeting of the Corporation 12/5/1938, p.1672.

rejection of the War Office's application for the use of park land by the 77th Field Regiment (RA) for a piece of ground in Linn Park.[82]

Although it is difficult to determine the exact nature of his involvement, Patrick Dollan's acceptance of his military role in office influenced proceedings. From the start, Dollan had assumed highly public Territorial Army Association duties. His image, in robes and ermine, could be seen in a special Glasgow supplement of *Defence*, next to his hearty endorsement of the Territorial movement [Figure 44].[83] In April 1939, during the opening of the new TA information centre, he spoke of the peaceable qualities of the movement: 'they're not bloody militarists and no-one wants war less'.[84] He attended various military functions, and performed the salutes at Armistice Day and the Territorial Parade. Responsibilities of office also reshaped Dollan's memory of the Great War: he spoke to the Glasgow Ex-Service Teachers Association of how 'he felt that the men who had died in the war had given their lives in the service and cause of democratic freedom'.[85] Dollan, canny political operator, may have been able to use his influence to create conciliar support. In February 1939, just after offering words of encouragement to the TAA, he orchestrated the referral of the matter of paid camp to the sub committee on salaries and wages, where the motion passed.[86]

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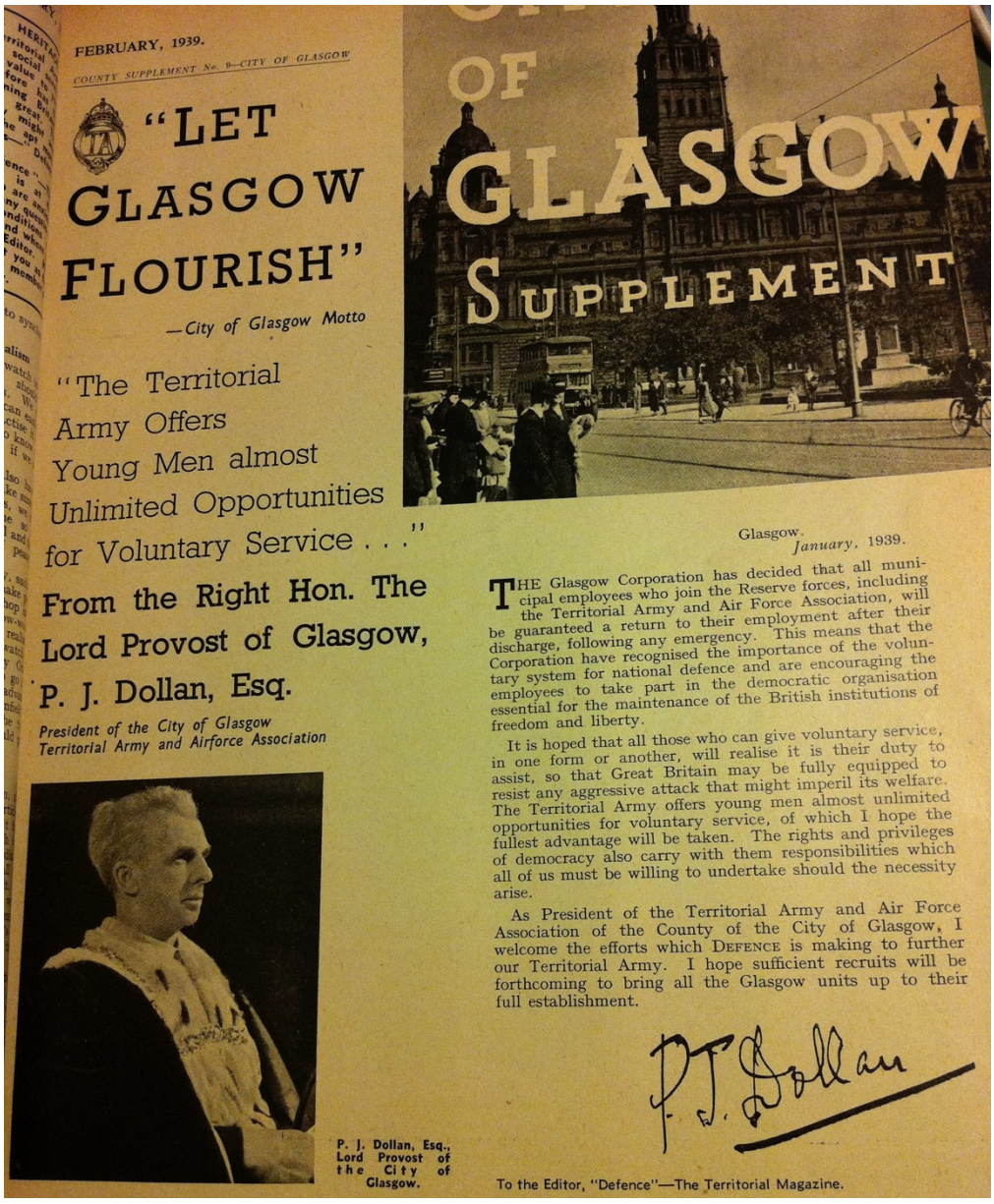
[82] GCA. GCA. C1/3/98. Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow April 1938–November 1938. Meeting of the Parks Committee 21/6/1939, p.2275. Meeting of the Corporation 22/6/1939.

[83] *Defence: The Territorial, RNVR, Auxiliary Air Force, OTC, and Cadet Corps Magazine* February 1939, p.31.

[84] *GH*, 25/4/1939, p.3.

[85] *GH*, 12/11/1938, p.13.

[86] GCA. C1/3/98. Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow April 1938–November 1938. Minutes of the Special Committee on Conditions of Service, Sub Commitee on Salaries and Wages, 20/2/1939, p.1045. It was Dollan's suggestion that another approach to the Corporation be made by the TAA. See LRCFA, Glasgow TAA Minutes, 1939. Meeting 6/1/1939.



FEBRUARY, 1939.

COUNTY SUPPLEMENT No. 9—CITY OF GLASGOW

"LET GLASGOW FLOURISH"

—City of Glasgow Motto

"The Territorial Army Offers Young Men almost Unlimited Opportunities for Voluntary Service . . ."

From the Right Hon. The Lord Provost of Glasgow, P. J. Dollan, Esq.

President of the City of Glasgow Territorial Army and Airforce Association

OF GLASGOW SUPPLEMENT

Glasgow.
January, 1939.

THE Glasgow Corporation has decided that all municipal employees who join the Reserve forces, including the Territorial Army and Air Force Association, will be guaranteed a return to their employment after their discharge, following any emergency. This means that the Corporation have recognised the importance of the voluntary system for national defence and are encouraging the employees to take part in the democratic organisation essential for the maintenance of the British institutions of freedom and liberty.

It is hoped that all those who can give voluntary service, in one form or another, will realise it is their duty to assist, so that Great Britain may be fully equipped to resist any aggressive attack that might imperil its welfare. The Territorial Army offers young men almost unlimited opportunities for voluntary service, of which I hope the fullest advantage will be taken. The rights and privileges of democracy also carry with them responsibilities which all of us must be willing to undertake should the necessity arise.

As President of the Territorial Army and Air Force Association of the County of the City of Glasgow, I welcome the efforts which DEFENCE is making to further our Territorial Army. I hope sufficient recruits will be forthcoming to bring all the Glasgow units up to their full establishment.

P. J. Dollan

P. J. Dollan, Esq., Lord Provost of the City of Glasgow.

To the Editor, "Defence"—The Territorial Magazine.

Figure 44 Dollan's endorsement of the TAA in *Defence*, 1939.

Examination of urban space in its entirety, rather than the political manoeuvres behind it, allows us to understand the dynamics of mobilisation, how it was prosecuted, and the local dynamics inherent within it. Citizens drew on a range of cultural texts to understand the war to come, and were informed by a range of national media and governmental literature.[1] But these currents manifested themselves in local spaces, where the system was actually created. As they had done in the Great War and, as this thesis has argued, they continued to do in the Twenties and Thirties, civic groups and leaders provided a crucial intermediary role, not only in interpreting the international war to municipal populaces, but also in gathering the various strands (political, cultural) that constituted civil defence and constructing a whole.

Editors and journalists had a crucial part to play, but in crediting them with a vital role, one should not be blind to the importance of other media. Glasgow's corporation continued a tradition of corporation film-making to foster a particularly modern vision of citizenship and urban living, when it authorised its own ARP film in August 1938.[2] Newcastle does not seem to have followed through with its own similar proposals, but it, and Glasgow, could also rely on state-produced ARP films shown in local cinemas.

Yet, civil and military defence was a project that civic press had an investment in as a local matter. Editors believed they could build momentum from it for sales.[3] Just as newspapers had provided spaces for military communities within their pages, civil defence was often gifted column space,

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[1] Susan Grayzel, *At Home and Under Fire,* pp.220-3.

[2] GCA. C1/3/98 Glasgow Corporation Minutes. Meeting of the Special Committee on ARP, 19/8/1938, p.2484. Elizabeth Lebas, 'Sadness and Gladness: The Films of Glasgow Corporation, 1922–1938' in *Film Studies*, 6 (2005), pp.27–45. Lebas does not address any of Glasgow's ARP films in her later work 'Glasgow's Progress: The Films of Glasgow Corporation 1938–1978' in *Film Studies*, 10 (2007), pp.34–53. There are five corporation ARP films in the Scottish Film Archive, but all date from 1940–2.

[3] The link between newspaper advertising strategies and recruitment can be seen in Newcastle's 'biggest ARP drive' in spring 1938, when a fire engine equipped with loudspeakers toured the city, covered in *Newcastle Chronicle* placards advertising the ARP branches. *NWC*, 26/3/1938, p.4.

where citizens were kept up to date with each city's schemes.[4] At the same time, the civic press disseminated articles on ARP and National Service, designed to inspire, assure and inform a public eager for information. They also seized the civic high ground. Mobilisation gave the civic public sphere a perfect opportunity to perform as overseers of civic interest: councils were castigated for partisan politics, corporations for inefficiencies.

Little had disturbed either city's public sphere, in terms of its consistency or political outlook. What arguably was a major change in Glasgow concerned *Forward*. This, as an organ of internationalist socialism, had always had audiences other than the local in mind, although it often engaged with civic politicians. The assumption of Dollan, who had written in the paper for so long, to civic office in 1938 transformed *Forward* more into a platform of official civic thought. Through a continuous flow of articles, Dollan presented the case for ARP, and then National Service, from a socialist and working-class perspective, in order to unite a spectrum of Glasgow's leftist opinion in the cause.[5]

Together, civic and military leaders concentrated their efforts on urban spaces, turning to performative strategies to achieve their objectives. By doing so they hoped to: raise, train and sanction new and unfamiliar war roles and identities, instruct the public in wartime behaviour en masse, and reassure citizens of the efficiency of the services. These were familiar strategies for both military mobilisation and the creation of the civic community throughout the inter-war period, as this thesis has suggested. The difference came in scale and character: these performances foregrounded new visions of warfare, ones that chimed with defence strategies and cultural expectations. What gave this cultural effort an edge was the need to eliminate the threat of mass fear and panic, which

[4]The *Herald*, for instance, had its own 'ARP column', becoming the 'National Service' column in 1939.

[5] See, for instance, Dollan, 'A Reply to a Young Socialist Critic – are we revolutionary enough?' *Forward* 28/1/1939, p.4; 'Socialists and Civil Defence – we can make a big advance', *Forward*, 6/5/1939 p.2. Dollan, 'Trade Unions and National Service: Must Built Up Civil Defence' in *Forward*, 27/5/1939, p.6. Dollan, 'Defence of Democracy: Chameleon Tactics of Leftists' in *Forward*, 14/6/1939, p.3.

was largely expected of a public saturated in representations of the utter destructive capabilities of aerial bombardment.[6] But, as we shall see, war culture in urban space did not only produce visions of defence.

In Glasgow, the Empire Exhibition provided a significant vehicle for war culture. The exhibition, and the ceremonial it occasioned, was spectacularly militarised, and not only by the military performances occasioned by the official visit of George VI to open it. The Services Pavilion (a collaboration between Army and RAF) is a forgotten part of Exhibition history. Glasgow's Territorial Association had approached the War Office to secure a stand at the exhibition in the summer of 1937.[7] In September 1937 the War Office itself was in communication with the Air Ministry and Admiralty with a view to obtaining a stand or (more ambitiously) inter-services pavilion at the exhibition.[8] The Territorial Association would later take credit for the idea, but it formed part of a general policy, prosecuted through the Army Recruiting Department, which was trying to deepen its local presence nationwide.[9]

The Services Pavilion was marginalised within Exhibition promotional literature: it is not on any official map, unlike, for instance, the Peace Pavilion. But it was extraordinarily significant for Scottish regiments, who took turns to man the stands within it. An area was also allocated for Glasgow's Territorial units, who likewise rotated their occupation. Outside, 'displays of a military nature' were held at various times.[10] Inside, its display of material promoted a mechanised image of the British army, but with relics, uniforms and other

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[6] For the saturation of British culture and media with representations of destruction from aerial bombardment and gas attack, see: Susan Grayzel, '"A promise of terror to come": Air Power and the Destruction of British Cities in British Imagination and Experience, 1908–1939' in Goebel and Keene (eds.), *Cities into Battlefields: Metropolitan Scenarios, Experiences and Commemorations of Total War* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp.47–62. Martin Caedel, 'Popular Fiction and the Next War, 1918–1939' in Frank Gloversmith (ed.), *Class Culture and Social Change: A New View of the 1930s* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1980), pp.161–84. For similar concerns and representations in public discourse, see: Richard Overy, *The Morbid Age: Britain between the Wars* (London: Allen Lane, 2009).

[7] NAS MD10/38. Meeting of the General Purposes Committee, 1/6/1938.

[8] NAS MD10/39 Glasgow TAA Minutes. General Purposes Committee Meeting. 9/9/1937.

[9] *Army Report* 1938, p.19.

[10] General purposes committee 17th May 1939.

ephemera on show conveying Scottish martial tradition. If the pavilion was sidelined, it was not ignored. One sergeant referenced authoritatively that 6-7,000 people passed through its doors each day.[11] This may well be echoing figures received from on high: it is not inconceivable considering the high attendance figures in general.[12] Scottish regiments published lengthy reports of their doings, replete with images of their stands.[13] For them, at least, the Pavilion was a 'marvellous success' – highly popular with the public, who attended in droves, and engaged with the exhibits enthusiastically.[14] At times, it did achieve prominence and focus, particularly during the visit of Hore-Belisha in June 1938.

There was also a considerable degree of military performance surrounding the Exhibition, which entered other urban spaces. Glasgow's Territorials, as well as their usual Territorial parade, performed a week-long 'Services Display' (essentially a tattoo) in Ibrox stadium, in tandem with auxiliary and volunteer forces, a pageant that, the *Herald* asserted, demonstrated the 'discipline and coordinated skill and efficiency' of local forces.[15] Another performance of modern warfare in the form of a display of aircraft and anti-aircraft defences, constituted the official ceremonial send-off for the Exhibition, held on the last day when 363,092 visitors had attended. In the morning, one territorial unit (a Dundee searchlight unit) and a mobile RE group paraded from Maryhill Barracks to George Square, where the Lord Provost took the salute next to the cenotaph. In the evening, at Exhibition Park, they spotted Glasgow's auxiliary aircraft unit (No. 602) as the hawker hind aircraft flew over the Tower of Empire numerous

[11] *Household Brigade*, Winer 1938, p.266.

[12] The average daily attendance was c.70,000 people. See https://universityofglasgowlibrary.wordpress.com/2014/07/22/the-empire-exhibition-1938-a-big-summer-for-glasgow/. Accessed 10/3/2015.

[13] See *HLIC* January 1939, pp.13-16; *79th News*, October 1938, pp.383–6. *TRL*, February 1939, pp.22–3. *Household Brigade Magazine*, Winter 1938, pp.266–7.

[14] *Household Brigade*, Winter 1938, p.266.

[15] *Bulletin,* 18/6/1938, p.4. The ARP review to be held in tandem with the Empire Exhibition in Glasgow (in early October 1938) was cancelled because the reality of mobilisation for Munich did not give the players time to practice their roles.

times, with smoke and sound effects inciting praise of its 'realism' in the local press.[16]

Glasgow Corporation was not the progenitor of the Exhibition, but it was an active collaborator and avid supporter in its mission to bolster Glasgow's status and promote its industry. Although conceived and prosecuted by the Scottish Development Council, and as much about Imperial Scottish-ness as it was about Glasgow, Exhibition space was so ingrained within city space that it became indelibly associated with the city and the civic. That Labour was associating with Big Business and Empire further widened the gulf between the corporation and the ILP.[17]The Exhibition, in all its art deco modernity, was a vaunted urban space where the military presented claims to belonging and largely found them accepted. Contestation was muted: letters of protest (for instance, from the Secretary of the UDC in Scotland) were printed in the civic press regarding 'tattoo' qualities of the Services Display, but there were few other voices raised against its military qualities.[18]

The tendencies of the Exhibition were also displayed in the Temperance Festival held on the Town Moor in June 1938, although this was much smaller in scale. From 1935, at least, this had become much more pronounced with the War Office involved in organising what basically amounted to a tattoo.[19] The show in 1938 contained not only military sports and a display of physical fitness, but also a display of: a light rank, anti-aircraft gun, anti tank rifle, Bren gun, Vickers gun, as well as wireless telegraphy and a host of army vehicles.[20] The year after, one of the attractions of the festival included a rudimentary mobile gas chamber, in the form of an iron lung. That year's Royal Agricultural Show had also contained

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[16] *GH,* 31/10/1938, p.11.

[17] The ILP organized an alternative 'Workers Exhibition' in Kingston Public Hall. This ran for a fortnight in August 1938. See Sarah Britton, 'Come and See the Empire by the All Red Route!': Anti-Imperialism and Exhibitions in Interwar Britain', *History Workshop Journal*, 2010, 69, pp.78–84.

[18] *Bulletin* 17/6/1938, p.38.

[19] *NWC*, 11/6/1939, p.4.

[20] Frank Baron, *'The Town Moor Hoppings': Newcastle's Temperance Festival, 1882-1982,* (Newbury: Lovell Baines, 1984), p.74.

a military performance, which, like the Exhibition, had been arranged through the Army Recruitment Department.[21]

After the Munich Crisis had put the nascent defence system into practice, and wrought its own visions of war onto local space, war culture would infiltrate urban space to a significant degree. From November 1938, after the conversion of Territorial units, Searchlight operations illuminated urban space with more regularity. Exercises, like that of the 53rd AA battalion in Newcastle in November (just a fortnight after its conversion), were deemed good ways to attract public attention and draw recruits.[22] Even if the action was not in the city, it could be conveyed through the news. Photographs of one training exercise of the 53rd, 'somewhere near Newcastle' made their way into the local press, who keenly asserted the unit as 'Defenders of the North'.[23]

Efforts were made to make this spectacle appealing, and exciting, by equating them with other forms of spectacle. Part of this obviously came from the need to entice volunteers, but there was also the necessity of domesticating the imagery of aerial defence and warfare to neutralise its threat. In December 1938, Dollan removed the city's Hogmanay celebrations from Glasgow Cross, where they usually took place, to George Square. This not only allowed a larger space for gathering, it was 'brighter and more attractive', with many of the decorations from the coronation festivities still adorning public buildings.[24] The event, which included community singing and a great deal of corporation music, was also to be enlivened by several flypasts of 602 and some significant searchlight action. Fog cancelled the air display, but the searchlights still provided a sense of occasion, with searchlights at Maryhill, Possilpark and Larkfield playing over the square. A recruiting demonstration for the Balloon Squadron and Searchlight units, where searchlights were positioned on a balloon flying over Ibrox stadium in Glasgow, was held during a Rangers match in late

[21] *Army Report* 1938, p.19.
[22] *NJ*, 14/11/1938, p.14.
[23] *NWC*, 4/3/1939, p.5.
[24] *GH*, 2/1/1939, pp.142–3.

March 1939 [Figure 45].[25] Nearly a month later the searchlights were spotting planes as they flew over George Square – shows for recruitment held every day for five days [Figure 45].[26]

Spectacle was not all bombings and searchlights. The tendency to foreground the destructive power of weaponry had been evident from 1938, but it became increasingly prominent in war culture. Glasgow's National Service review of April 1939 was watched by an estimated 100,000 crowd in Ibrox stadium – another 50,000 were unable to get in. Over 10,000 volunteers (both civilian and military) performed in a march past and a high-velocity segmented display of local civil and military defence that lasted over an hour. This opened with bombing (by six Anson bombers), with responses from searchlights, anti-aircraft and Lewis guns, as well as the intervention of the AFS, to extinguish a house fire. First aid detachments cleared casualties from the area. In another corner of the field, a decontamination squad dealt with a gas bomb that had been 'dropped' on the last flypast. For the second half of the display, Glasgow's military and naval volunteers paraded a significant arsenal in front of the crowd: Bren guns, naval guns, field guns and a range of motorised transport.[27] That guns could be as 'thrilling' as searchlights and bombers was nothing new to inter-war audiences – tattoos, although often controversial had hardly disappeared – but the imagery of combat was not subservient to the imagery of defence: as well as defending Glasgow, Glasgow was also bombing it.[28]

These 'thrilling' moments also legitimised war societies in micro. Glasgow's National Service review ended with a lengthy march past, the Lord Provost taking the salute.[29] Newcastle's National Service rally, grafted onto its Empire Day traditions, took the form of a parade of Territorial and ARP workers

[25] *Bulletin*, 01/04/1939, p.5 and p.7.
[26] *GH*, 25/4/1939, p.3.
[27] *Bulletin*, 1/5/1939, pp.1–2.
[28] Alun Jones Chalfont, *The Royal Tournament, 1880-1980* (London, 1980).
[29] *Bulletin*, 1/5/1939, pp.1–2.

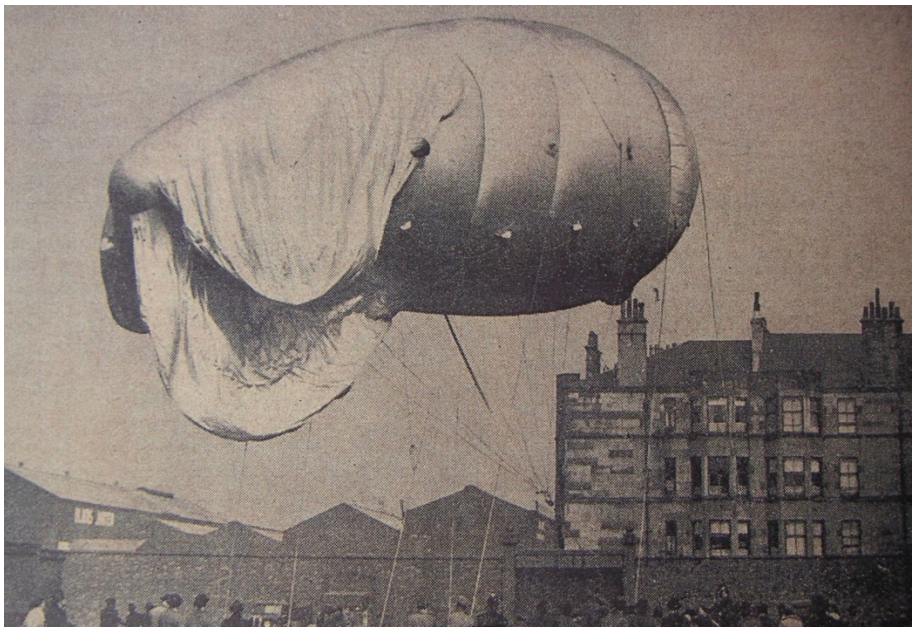

Figure 45 Recruitment Spectacle, 1939.

Above: Ibrox Stadium. *Bulletin*, 1/4/1939, p.7.
Below: George Square. *Bulletin*, 25/4/1925, p.10.

through the city, which gave the local press the opportunity to enact the same reviewing role, reading, through the parade, what had been achieved in such a short amount of time: 'only a few weeks ago…men had not marched in company with others' but now they were 'swinging along in perfect rhythm'.[1] After the parade, the company of tanks, motor-lorries, howitzers, trailer pumps, decontamination workers and ARP personnel made their way through the streets in a recruitment march that encompassed most of the city centre, watched by crowds of interested citizens.

These performances were almost indistinguishable from other dramaturgical strategies (pageantry, military spectacle, civic spectacle) that had enlivened civil communities throughout the inter-war period.[2] This muted much of the controversy that civil defence might otherwise have generated, if it had purely come down to a political interrogation of its ramifications. Patrick Dollan's rhetoric, at the National Service rally of April 1939, was able to strongly envisage the unity of the city and his position as war leader in micro, partly because the issue came down to performance: 'I am civilian Commander-in-Chief of the most unique of democratic *demonstrations* [my italics] of defence that has ever been staged in this or any other country'.[3]

Performance allowed local leaders to mobilise local citizens around shadows, sidestepping some more difficult political realities. The end of mobilisation came to be a performance of readiness for a war that would in fact be averted through a show of strength. Irene Ward, MP for Wallsend, talked at an ARP review at Gosforth of realising the need to 'prove our readiness to the world. This would not be to prepare for war but to lay the foundations of peace'.

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[1] *NJ*, 25/5/1939, p.4.

[2] David Enrico Omissi, 'The Hendon Air Pageant, 1920-37', in pp.198–220; Peter Merrington, 'Staging History, Investing Heritage: The 'New Pageantry' and British Imperial Identity, 1905-1935' in Susan Lawrence (ed.), *Archaeologies of the British: Explorations of Identity in the United Kingdom and its Colonies, 1600-1945* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp.239-58; Michael Woods, "Performing Power: Local Politics and the Taunton Pageant of 1928' in *Journal of Historical Geography* 25 (1999) pp.57-74.

[3] *Bulletin*, 1/5/1939, p.2.

[4] At the Cyclist battalion's service in November 1938, the Reverend Alfred Thomas sermonised that 'we must be so strong that no other nation will desire to attack or affront us'.[5] Patrick Dollan, at a dinner to mark the conversion of the 7th HLI to an anti-aircraft unit, talked of the necessity of an 'efficient and strongly-armed Territorial Army as a vital factor in negotiations for international accord'.[6] This message could only be sent through display.

These strategies were not problem-free. When civic leaders suddenly required the utmost seriousness in mood they could be disappointed. Sir Arthur Lambert, now Regional Commissioner for Civil Defence, and Newcastle's ARP Chairman (Richard Embleton), whilst speaking positively of the ARP and blackout exercise that was held during the night of 12th May, attacked the 'thousands of people' who turned up to watch, many of whom turned up in motor cars to witness the recreation of the incendiary bomb and ARP response, thus ruining much of the blackout effect.[7] It did not seem to occur to either leader that the root of this lay with the blurring of performative modes that elicited different, and conflicting, behaviours.

Neither could such strategies generate political consensus. Although, further research would be needed to uncover the extent of contestation, it was certainly pioneered by the Left in Glasgow. Here the Trades Council was blocking recruitment for ARP in the unions, offering formal declarations of opposition and agitating for peace at least until April 1939, after which the lack of records obscures the issue.[8] The Scottish TUC had been unsure about whether it should involve itself in National Service at all – it withdrew its support after the announcement of conscription in May, in 'defence of the voluntary

[4] *NJ*, 23/5/1939, p.11.
[5] *NJ* 12/11/1938, p.9.
[6] *HLIC*, April 1939, p.130.
[7] *NWC*, 13/5/1939, p.8.
[8] Glasgow Caledonian University Archives (GCUA) Glasgow Trades Council Minutes, microfiche, 1937–9. The minutes stop after April 1939 in this reel. GCUA archivist was unable to locate any further microfiche for 1939.

principle'.[9] That month, *Forward* estimated that 100,000 members of union and various leftist groups, as well as Labour members of the Council, marched against conscription during the May Day demonstration.[10] A fortnight later, in the region of 11,250 apprentices in Clyde engineering firms struck, ostensibly in protest against conscription.[11]

Obviously, Leftist politics were not awed by the tour de force of spectacle, or persuaded to renounce cherished ideals because of the power of Dollan's political rhetoric in *Forward*.[12] We should not, however, dismiss the possibility that the period of imagining defence (1935–7), and this period of performing it (1938–9) allowed an acclimatisation, which created a much more muted opposition. We should also consider the power of performance in ameliorating the emotional tensions of mobilisation for war, channelling citizenry's emotional response away from fear, and towards a range of emotional responses that included exhilaration, excitement and collective pride. This must have contributed in no small way to the stabilisation of urban civil society in the immediate opening of war.

Other aspects of war culture offered the urban citizen reassuring narratives of survival and victory. Thus far this chapter has centred on the very modern images of warfare. In entering urban space, however, these intermingled with other performances, rituals that this thesis has traced through the two decades between the wars. 'Military memory' was turned up several notches in volume between 1938–9, although it is difficult to chart this increase in volume. The St George's parade in April 1938 deepened the connections between the parade and Great War remembrance that had been becoming increasingly centralised during

[9] GCUAS. Scottish Trades Union Congress Reports, Annual Report, 1939.
[10] *Forward*, 11/5/1939, p.8.
[11] *Bulletin*, 23/5/1939, p.9. *DR* 20/5/1939, p.11. The publication of their Youth Charter later foregrounded issues of pay.
[12] Dollan did not condone conscription, but tried to redirect leftist attention back to the issue of voluntary service, which many had renounced after the announcement of compulsory military service. See Dollan, 'Defence of Democracy: Chameleon Tactics of Leftists' in *Forward*, 14/6/1939, p.3.

the Thirties. In a special ceremony after the parade, at Walker's drill hall, the wartime commander of the 5th battalion, Northumberland Fusiliers, Col. Arnold Irwin, unveiled a cross, taken from the battlefield of the Somme. The cross, said Irwin, told a story of sacrifice, but also of 'comradeship and good fellowship' in a just cause: 'that England might live and that the glorious traditions of the regiment might not suffer.' But it revealed a story of an ultimately victorious struggle. The cross was made by the pioneers of the battalion to mark the dead:

> who fell during the Battle of the Somme, in which we were engaged September to November 1916….and, in March 1917, after the Germans fell back, it was placed on the Butte de Warlencourt, a strong point which was bravely and tenaciously held by a gallant enemy against repeated and brave attacks made against it by the Fighting Fifth. Towards the end of March 1918, when the German Army regained possession of the old battlefield, the Butte again fell into their hands and remained so until September, when it was retaken during the advance to victory.[13]

Irwin would continue to reflect on his last sight of the cross, 21 years ago, as well as impart his judgement on the worth of the sacrifice of his men: it was a potent blend of personal and military memory that communicated soldierly virtues of sacrifice and service to a generation who had not known warfare but were probably more attune than any previous to its horrors. It was also highly public. As well as focusing attention firmly on Walker, which may have been the desired intention, this provided the opportunity for some astounding pan-regimental celebration. As well as significant local coverage, the ritual was broadcast on the northern channel of the BBC, after which followed an hour-long exposition of regimental history from the raising of the regiment to current times, with interviews from former servicemen of the regiment.

There was something inherently constructive in this episode. Irwin's comment that the cross was unearthed 'fairly recently' smacked somewhat of invention.[14] From the perspective of April 1938, a month after Anschluss had

[13] *NJ*, 25/4/1938, p.7.
[14] Ibid.

inspired national-level assertions that defence would have to be stepped up, it may have been simply evidence of a growing confidence on the part of infantry units.[15] Perhaps it was also an attempt to pull focus from the RAF and anti-aircraft measures that tended to be the subject matter of political discussion, and remind the public of the value, and necessity of the infantry. Certainly, there is obviously the assumption on the part of military and civic groups that the martial history of the Great War had an increasing relevance for both military groups and local publics. These were essentially reassuring messages: not only did the Somme Cross evidence British military mettle (in terms of stoic endurance), it told that, although the struggle had been costly, it had been ultimately victorious.

Other relics made their way out of cupboards and storehouses. One signpost taken from the battlefield of Festubert was 'rediscovered' in a store cupboard *twice* by the Cameronians: once in January in 1936 and then again in July 1937.[16] [Figure 46] Whilst not exciting the interest of the BBC, Glasgow's press provided the details of the 'interesting incident in the heroic war history of the battalion' that led to capturing it, as well as a rehearsal of the battalion's war record, and a mention of the men that had sailed for France in November 1914 who still remained in the battalion. After the conversion of infantry units to anti-aircraft roles in November 1938, the applications of military memory widened and other relics became useful. The foundation of the 9th battalion in July 1939 busied the TAA in retrieving the old silver of its former incarnation (a service battalion, which had been raised in Hamilton during the Great War) that had been disbanded in 1918.[17]

For most units, commanding officers found infantry traditions useful to build a basis of esprit de corps. The St George's Day parade of 1939 is interesting in this respect. By that point, none of Newcastle's Territorial units remained as

[15] The Prime Minister's statement on 24 March that defence, in the form of the RAF and anti-aircraft measures, would have to be stepped up. *The Times*, 24/3/1938 p.14.
[16] For the article from the *Bulletin* in January 1936 see SLCA. Cameronians Archive. LO22. Scrapbook. *EN*, 19/7/1937 reprinted in *Covenanter*, January 1938, p.132.
[17] LRCFA. Glasgow TAA Minutes, 1939. Meeting 3/10/1939.

infantry units: the 6th battalion was a tank regiment and the 5th battalion had become a searchlight regiment. Yet both units still marked their regimental affinity through parading, noted as the first public moment in the life of these new incarnations. From the vantage point of the parade, there was little difference in form, with the same wreath laying at the tree monuments, and salute at the Stephenson monument. There was obviously, however, an increased feeling of significance: the *Evening Chronicle* noted that the parade had a 'deeper meaning than ever before'.[18] Increased spectatorship, visible on the streets, also contributed to the sense of purpose and feeling of public support.[19]

This is not to suggest that ritual and tradition of the infantry within urban space mattered for all units. The 7th HLI, because of its conversion, did not attend the usual regimental memorial service in 1938, held on the Sunday before Armistice Day. Here mobilisation for new defence systems disturbed the ritual production of the regiment, at least for some participants, as the reaction from the 6th battalion's Ex-Members Association demonstrates:

> It was noticed with great regret that there was a gap between the 6th and the 9th and we feel very strongly that although the 'Blythswood' have gone, on an occasion like this there should have been a representation of old comrades of the 7th, who stood shoulder to shoulder with us throughout our trials and tribulations of the War Years.[20]

But the act helped to mark a withdrawal and a process of redefinition for a new unit in search of an identity. This was a rejection, not quite of regimental tradition and affiliation, although it did post a fond farewell to the regiment in the *HLIC* edition of November 1938, but certainly of an infantry mythology.[21] Other military rituals could be used to mark the transition from the infantry. In February 1939, at the first mess dinner since conversion, attended by the Lord Provost, the 7th's commanding officer, Lt Col S S Johnson, formally accepted a

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[18] *EC* 24/4/1939, p.7.
[19] *NWC*, 29/4/1939, p.8.
[20] *HLIC* January 1939, p.60.
[21] *HLIC*, November 1938, p. 288.

Figure 46 Relic from Festubert (1915), 1937.

[SLCA. Cameronians Archive. LO22. Scrapbook. *EN*, 19/7/1937]

Figure 47 St George's Day parade, 1938 and 1939.

Above (1928) and below (1939) both from the photo archives of the *Newcastle Chronicle.*

silver statuette of an HLI officer from the commander of the 157th infantry brigade, a reminder of the unit's origins for its officership in a ceremony. At the same time, the unit was welcomed into the RA by the commanding officer of the 3rd AA division.[22]

Much of the choice to stick with tradition, or to revolutionise, may have come down to the selection of commanding officers. Considering the manpower pressures generated by conversion, these were not necessarily men who had served with the specialist units they would then command. The 57th Searchlight Regiment (formerly 5/8th Cameronians, for instance) were commanded by Lt Col H Cowan Douglas. He had served with the Rifle Brigade during the Great War and had commanded the 5th battalion, HLI, in the latter part of the Thirties.[23]Such men had obvious reasons for believing in the relevance of infantry traditions. They also may have had too much to consider beyond the initiation of new rituals. There are obvious limits to that argument when one considers that the officer commanding the 7th HLI had been an infantry officer.

It is worth noting that, for some, this ideologically shaped the pathway to war in a way that has usually not been appreciated. The 'militiaman' was a temporary player on the urban-military stage, but whilst he occupied urban space, he was also subjected to its mythologizing. Conscription had been the focus of leftist anti-war protest in Glasgow. The civic press seem to be anxious to soften the blow (swallowing the hook of the government) by equating him to historic scripts of military service, inspired (of course) by the 'militia' reference. But the path to service that was being laid for him was grounded in civic–military ritual and, to a degree, he had some time to consume these scripts before the outbreak of war reconfigured military recruitment. Too late for St George's Day, and too early for other regimental days of significance (Inkerman, Assaye and Armistice Day), he was just on time for the annual Cameronians service around the statue in Kelvingrove in August 1939. Here militiamen formed the guard of

[22] *HLIC*, April 1939, p.130.
[23] *HLIC*, January 1939, p.55.

honour and attended the service, listening as Dr James Black imparted their purpose in typical Cameronian terms:

> There were precious things in Scotland and Great Britain worth defending and one of those was religious liberty. In Scotland our forefathers fought for those liberties. In other countries they were being taken away from the people. Nobody, said Dr Black, will ask you to defend anything that is unjust but we will defend the spiritual liberty which we enjoy.[24]

Military memory not only served the purpose of military mobilisation. It also provided some of the underpinning of civic effort in mobilisation for civic defence. This could have some very specific and pointed applications. A few pages after the *Chronicle* had reported on divisions in the Watch Committee (ARP) with regard to finance ('Battle for Control of ARP Spending') it published a feature on Charles I 'who let the city down' after 'repeated warnings were ignored, preparations for the defence of the city were delayed, local leaders quarrelled one with the other and the stage was set for Newcastle's most ignominious downfall after the Battle of Newburn'.[25] Another similar feature in the paper – 'Watching for Scottish Raiders' – emphasised both the readiness of defensive measures against this historic enemy, particularly in terms of communications (a noted problem in ARP administration during this time), as well as the fact that 'Northumberland was a military area [and] some 20,000 men were always ready for emergencies'.[26]

Remembrance, particularly concerning the events of the Great War, obviously presented certain uses for civic groups facing another gargantuan challenge of mobilisation. This did not require a reinvention of civic ritual: civic groups could draw on mythological resources of existing narratives that had survived through the inter-war years through ritual performance. The 15th HLI

[24] *GH*, 7/8/1939, p.13.
[25] *NWC*, 2/4/1938, p.4 and p.11.
[26] *NWC*, 30/7/1938, p.1.

Association's Ayette parade of 1939, held in April (as usual), was particularly notable for its civic elements, and its stress on past success [Figure 48]. Before the men marched to George Square, the Convenor of the Transport Department addressed the gathering of 150 officers and men outside the Department's offices in Bath Street, underlining how 'proud' the corporation was of the men and the fighting record of the 15th HLI. This did not miss the opportunity to celebrate the 'record for the British army' – the raising of the 15th HLI 'in 16 hours' – giving the corporation a chance to parade its efficiency in matters of mobilisation.[27]

Other memories had to be reignited, particularly with regard to industry. Rearmament, and the efforts of both civic groups, corporations and civic press to assert claims to contracts, provoked reminiscence, both big and small. Again, the growth of these narratives is tangible within the civic press. Of course, the argument ran, as in the words of the *Herald*'s special correspondent, that, as 'Glasgow had considerable experience in the making of aeroplanes during the last war', it would follow that it should for the next: these arguments were usually reinforced by examples, as in this case ('2000 machines…produced by local firms, as well as the four airships, built at Inchinnan'), but the civic press were not above a more detailed elaboration of the industrial achievements in the last war, or the celebration of the historic links between these areas and warship craft.[28] This was a rhetoric that infused council chambers, speeches of civic leadership and official government approaches.

Into this frenetic remembering activity walked the civic veteran, who became, as the example of Ayette has already suggested, an increasingly important figure on the urban ceremonial scene. There was an increased tendency to foreground and reward veterans. In June 1938, the South African War Veterans conducted their usual parade around Lord Roberts' monument in Kelvingrove Park, with Ian Hamilton as their parade leader. They also held a conference at the Empire Exhibition, receiving a civic lunch with the Lord

[27] *GH*, 4/3/1939, p.9.
[28] *GH*, 24/11/1938, p.9.

Provost, and a visit from the Secretary of State for War (Hore-Belisha), who spoke in praise of their contribution to national life: 'you veterans have enabled us to cross over 30 to 40 years with complete safety.'[29] Glasgow's Chamber of Commerce, busy organising recruitment talks within Glasgow's commercial offices, also organised and paid for a dinner for the 17th HLI Association in the exhibition.

The symbolic power of veterans is evident through their increased prominence within Armistice ceremonials, but also through moments of military mobilisation. Armistice Day in 1938 in Glasgow and Newcastle did conform to a national tendency to solemn prayer and thanksgiving, but both rituals also allocated increased focus on civic veterans. Both ceremonies ended with a march past of veterans as the military bands in each city struck up the 'Boys of the Old Brigade'.[30] The HLI's annual Armistice Day observance, which had always allocated veterans a significant place, now became absolutely dominated by their image: the *Bulletin* iterated the event through a depiction of the 'oldest veteran' of the HLI (who had joined the regiment in 1874) talking to a young soldier.[31]

For the first time, Glasgow's Territorial parade shared space with the annual remembrance parade, with both events held on the same day.[32] Whether veterans were more visible in the annual St George's Day parade in Newcastle is difficult to say, as reports did not detail numbers. The parade had been increasingly focused on the veteran presence since at least 1936, which was declared in the headline as a 'Survivors Parade', inclusive of 'those heroes of the early days of war…proudly carrying their medals and decorations'.[33] A variety

[29] *Bulletin* 28/6/1938 p.28. Magistrates Committee Minutes 18/1/1938, p.763. Application for civic reception of afternoon tea granted for 70 members of the South African Veterans Association. This was later turned into a civic lunch, on Dollan's suggestion.
[30] *NJ* 12/11/1938, p.9. *GH*, 12/11/1938, p.13.
[31] *Bulletin*, 7/11/1938, p.15.
[32] *GH*, 5/6/1939, p.6. *79th News*, July 1939, p.320.
[33] *NM*, 27/4/1936, p.5.

Figure 48 Ayette Parade 1939.

Bulletin 4/4/1939, p.11.

of old comrades associations were described at the St George's Day parade, although, with most newspapers focused on the new functions of the units, there was far less space given to veterans groups in that year.[34] To some degree, mobilisation played off the symbolic language of the civic veteran: in one photograph, new recruits of the TEE (TA) marching to St Thomas' Church in civvies were described as having 'all the style of the old soldier'.[35] It certainly looked as if the civic veteran was marching back to war [Figure 49].

In this favourable cultural and political climate, veterans groups established new rituals. 300 members of Glasgow's branch of the Old Contemptibles, a relatively recent addition to the veteran scene, conducted a massive parade, with a service at Glasgow's cathedral and a march past at the Royal Exchange. Brigadier W F Chalmer DSO MC (Commanding Officer of the 156th Infantry Brigade) took the salute and newspaper coverage traced the history of the Army from August to November 1914, emphasising its 'great achievements'. The Reverend S Maurice Watts, of Elgin Place Congregational Church, in his sermon to the congregation, underlined that the 'ideal of 1914' was 'still worth fighting for'.[36] In Newcastle, the Northern branch of the Royal Naval Division, which had usually celebrated reunions within local restaurants, paraded in Exhibition Park, where Sir Ian Hamilton presented them with a new banner.[37]

Mark Connelly, in his study of East London commemoration, refers to a flowering of reunion culture in the late Thirties, which shone through local newspapers: 'the nation seemed to need their peculiar qualities once more'.[38] This phenomenon, though apparent within these case studies, is difficult to

[34] EC, 24/3/1939, p.7. Although Newcastle's St George's parade was not co-opted for the purposes of civil defence, the other county military parades in Morpeth, Ashington and Alnwick became a focus for volunteer ritual action, containing ARP as well as Red Cross volunteers.
[35] *NWC*, 27/5/1939, p.4.
[36] *GH*, 6/6/1939, p.8.
[37] *NWC*, 19/8/1939, p.9.
[38] Connelly, *The Great War, Memory and* Ritual, p.204.

The Clouds

HERE IS a picture taken by a "Weekly Chronicle" photographer, who was a passenger in a 'plane taking part in the Empire Air Display at Acklington R.A.F. Station.

CHURCH PARADES IN NEWCASTLE AID RECRUITING DRIVE

RECRUITS march with all the style of the old soldier in the parade to St. Thomas's Church, Newcastle, of the Tyne Electrical Engineers. Bluejackets of the R.N.V.R. Tyne Division in their parade to St. Nicholas' Cathedral was another Sunday morning "show" for Newcastle.

Figure 49 TEE Recruitment parade, 1939.

NWC 27/5/1939, p.4.

track. The 26th Machine Gun squadron (Imperial Camel Corps) reunion dinner seems to have been first held in 1938.[39] Other associations, which had been founded in the last few years, may also have contributed to a more than usually frenetic reunion culture. The 10th Black Watch, for instance, first met in 1935.[40] What is also possible is that Connelly is identifying the increasing prominence of an existing reunion culture, that the public sphere was increasingly foregrounding. The QOCHA membership rolls for its Glasgow branch show that new members were still joining towards the end of the Thirties, but returns did not reach near the levels seen in the Twenties.

The interrelationship between modern spectacles of war and scripts of war mythology and commemoration is an interesting one to unpick. It is easier to see the cultural applications of military performance, but harder to interpret the involvement of veterans. Few press reports or speeches elucidated quite what the veteran stood for, 'peculiar' or not. They highlighted the fact of his presence or remembrance more than anything else. Newcastle's *Chronicle* published, for instance, a relatively lengthy report on one veteran that had very little apparent newsworthyness. Headlined 'Veteran Recalls Zulu Battles', the piece focused on 2nd Lieutenant Innes Hopkins, who had his first 'baptism of fire' against the Zulus at Kambula. Little happened in the article: he simply 'sat in the Union Club and remembered it', although the journalist provided a précis of the campaign.[41] At the other end of the spectrum, came the words of one Cambrai VC winner at the parade of the Royal Tank Corps in Catterick, covered by the *Chronicle* in July 1939:

> Don't forget we are powerful. There are those who think we haven't the gut to fight…We are told about the marvellous anti-tank weapons of other nations. Well, we fought against them during the Great War and beat them and with the modern tank we could fight against them and beat them.[42]

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[39] *DR*, 26/11/1938, p.6.
[40] *TRH*, January 1939, p.38.
[41] *NWC*, 1/4/1939, p.4.
[42] *NWC*, 9/7/1939, p.8.

Interwoven between the modern spectacles of war that increasingly intruded into urban space were these representations that balanced the new with the old and related British effort in 1939 to a historic tradition of martial endeavour, struggle and achievement. Veterans were not simply the conveyors of martial mythology, even if they were prompts for its iteration. Their presence told a reassuring narrative of survival and the maintenance of tradition, just as monuments in stone and brass yielded narratives of sacrifice. They demonstrated that previous generations faced war, and both local and national communities had emerged unbroken. Veterans also projected the martial qualities inherent in local and national masculinity. Hore-Belisha had celebrated the Glasgow's SAWVA for their still-tangible military demeanour: 'I wish you were still in the army. So do we all. You look pretty fit for the next campaign.[43]

[43] *Bulletin*, 28/6/1938, p.28.

Conclusion

In writing the history of peacetime mobilisation within urban constituencies, this work has argued that Britain of 1919 and 1939 were fundamentally connected. Indeed, the *wars* of 1914-1918 and 1939-1945 were interlocked through culture, which helps us to understand how Britain mobilised relatively painlessly for another war against the same enemy in 1939, when the inter-war citizen had been mobilised around 'Never Again' for the best part of two decades. Civic elites, working with a cultural understanding of civic duty and responsibility, played a crucial part in these processes, in grounding and legitimising military power. In many ways, they underpinned the ethos of the British voluntary system.

The question remains, however, of typicality: how unique were these urban societies and their civic cultures? Newcastle's naval culture, for instance, suggests that size and industrial diversity mattered. With Vickers Armstrong so dominant as a local employer in the city, local connections to the naval-industrial complex might have shone through in civic culture more than in Glasgow, which hosted a number of private shipbuilding firms. This tendency might have been exacerbated in Barrow-in-Furness, which had a far smaller population than Newcastle's. We would need further case studies to elucidate the issue, but the probability is that Glasgow and Newcastle were on a spectrum. Comparisons with other industrial cities would be useful and help us to appreciate the multiple intersections of locality and military power on a national level.

Metropolitan experiences should be placed alongside those of less iconic conurbations. Originally, this research encompassed the county of Northumberland, before a revaluation of the scope of the project, and there are interesting case studies in the mobilisation for the Territorial units around

Alnwick and Morpeth, and how these fitted into hierarchies of the Duke of Northumberland's estate and county market towns. A rural case study, based on an extant, rich yeomanry archive, would allow us to compare the role and of the civic elite with these rural elites.

As well as broadening this study, however, an important direction to follow would be in extending it. How did local authorities and elites prepare and implement civil defence in the nuclear age? How did the creation of the 'post modern regimental system', and National Service, affect each locality and civic-military relations?[1] Could the 'civic veteran' occupy the same place in the civic community after the experience of 1939-45 and the 'People's War' mythology, which embraced all citizens for their national efforts. Local society may also have drastically by that point, but the fact that the parades under review of this thesis have persisted, although not uninterrupted, to this day suggests a continuing local significance.

As well as contributing to our understanding of mobilisation, this research has implications for other areas of scholarship. Firstly, commemoration: the rituals of remembrance highlighted here must inform our understanding of both the Great War's memory and its mythological development. Inter-war citizens were subject to, and participants in, a locally peculiar strand of remembrance this thesis has called 'military memory'. In one sense this was anti-Modern: a way of elaborating the war within martial continuity that Paul Fussell asserted had died in the trenches with the birth of modern ironic memory.[2] But it was also thoroughly modern, born from historical dynamics of military and civic societies within the modern city.

The evaluation of Armistice Day as a visual event has shown that there is still much to be gleaned from the study of the ritual, telling us more about the civic-ness of remembrance and the modes of existence within which war remembrance were framed. In this case, it also demonstrated how deeply

[1] French, *Military Identities,* pp.290-333.
[2] Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), p.9.

ingrained the military were in these manifestations of local, civic identity. It is one thing to point to military participation, but the photographic record of the ritual shows us clearly how the ritual was *about* the civic-military relationship. This is not a reassessment of the ritual, but it is a call to both urban historians, and those of commemoration, to relax disciplinary boundaries and realise the functionalist elements of ritual action.

This can be extended to army-society relations in general, the segmentation of which tends to exacerbate and highlight divisions rather than look for points of contact. In the footsteps of other historians, such as Helen McCartney, this thesis has argued that the meeting of civilian and military cultures was vital for sustaining the armed forces. In the British voluntary system, soldiers remained civilians in important ways, and the local mattered here in integrating soldiery and contributing to the sense of belonging and support that fed the armed forces. This was particularly important during years of relative disenfranchisement at a national level.

Finally, this thesis has highlighted that study of the British Veterans Movement has remained too focused on the British Legion. This investigation has demonstrated the importance of other forms of veterans' associational affiliation within the urban context. In the wake of studies that demonstrate the politics of associational life, we need a broader national examination of this activity, which seeks out both the extent of activity, and the political (rather than the emotional) meaning of 'comradeship'. This may warrant rethinking our image of British veteran-hood as either lackadaisical, or a blunt force.

Appendices

Appendix A

Soldiers Died in the Great War: Glasgow Place of Enlistment Results

Scottish Regiments (infantry)	**1914**	**1915**	**1916**	**1917**	**1918**	**Total**	**% of Total**
A & S Highlanders	39	168	186	363	265	1021	**5%**
Black Watch	10	88	484	138	136	856	**4%**
QOCH	106	522	341	314	199	1482	**7%**
Cameronians	23	864	561	699	592	2739	**14%**
Gordon Highlanders	73	271	216	256	159	975	**5%**
HLI	131	1050	1614	1176	878	4849	**24%**
KOSB	24	182	121	224	245	796	**4%**
Royal Scots	20	179	196	422	534	1351	**7%**
Royal Scots Fusiliers	68	234	189	314	347	1152	**6%**
Scots Guards	93	190	84	51	41	459	**2%**
Seaforth Highlanders	55	240	219	310	225	1049	**5%**
Total Scottish Regiments	**642**	**3988**	**4211**	**4267**	**3621**	**16729**	**83%**
% of Dead	**86%**	**90%**	**92%**	**78%**	**72%**	**83%**	
% of infantry dead	**90%**	**94%**	**93%**	**91%**	**90%**	**92%**	

Irish Regiments (Infantry)	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	Total	% of Total
Connaught Rangers	17	19	25	13	18	92	**0.50%**
Royal Dub. Fusiliers	2	32	27	25	30	116	**0.60%**
Royal Inn. Fusiliers	10	65	118	70	60	323	**1.60%**
Royal Irish Fusiliers	7	42	34	46	21	150	**0.75%**
Irish Guards	15	25	21	25	18	104	**0.50%**
Royal Irish Regiment	5	3	6	3	8	25	**0.12%**
Royal Irish Rifles	1	23	17	22	18	81	**0.40%**
Royal Mun. Fusiliers	0	17	10	4	14	45	
Total	**57**	**226**	**258**	**208**	**187**	**936**	**5%**
% of Dead	**8%**	**5%**	**5%**	**4%**	**3%**	**5%**	
% of infantry dead	**8%**	**5%**	**5%**	**4%**	**4%**	**5%**	
Engiish/Welsh Regs. (Infantry)	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	Total	% of Total
59 Misc Regiments	**12**	**42**	**72**	**233**	**250**	**609**	
% of Dead	**2%**	1%	**2%**	**4%**	**5%**	**3%**	
% of infantry dead	**2%**	**1%**	**2%**	**5%**	**6%**	**3%**	

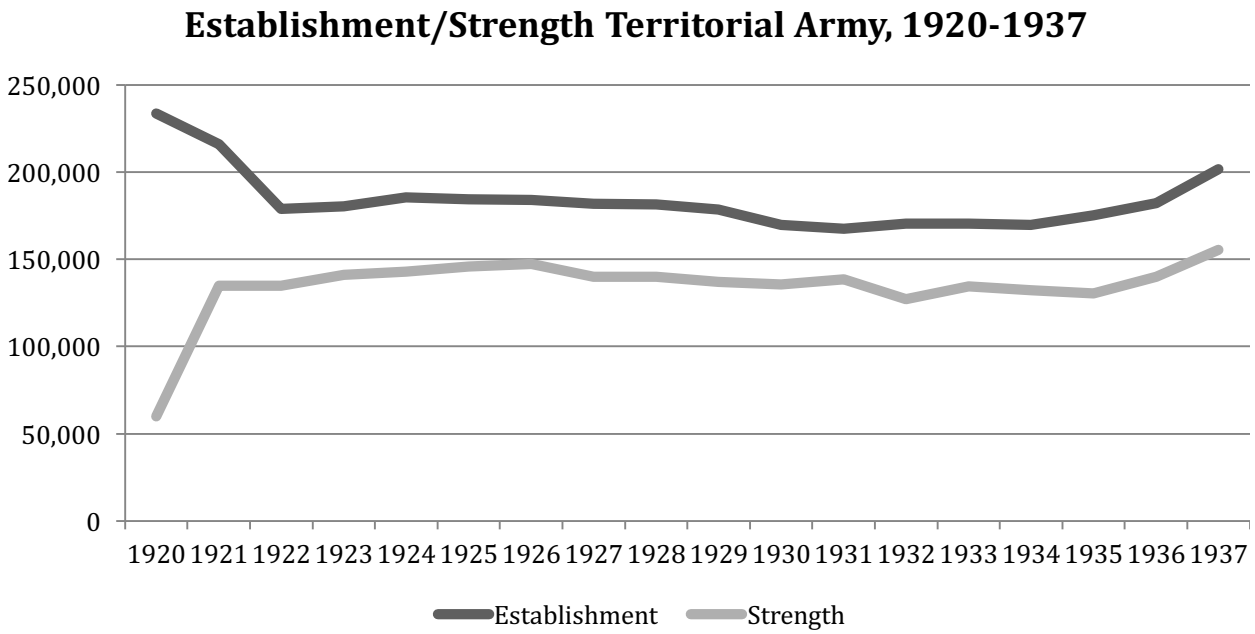
Appendix B

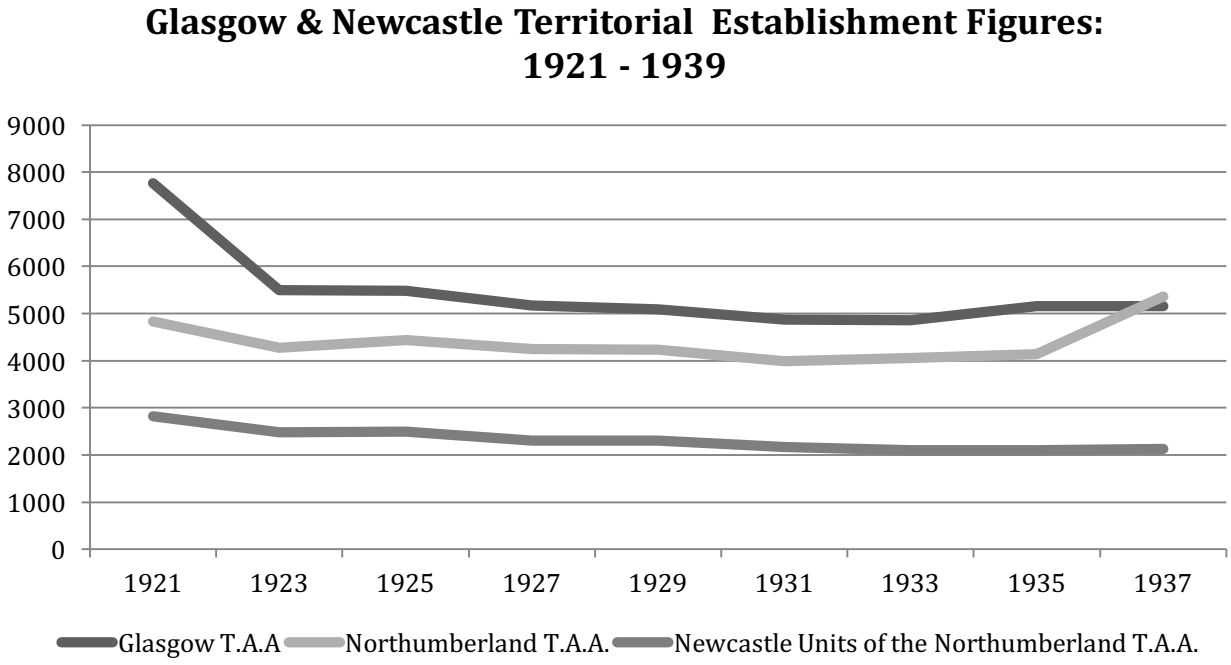
Soldiers Died in the Great War: Newcastle Place of Enlistment Results

Regiments	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	Totals
Northern Regiments	**129**	**716**	**2031**	**1221**	**1260**	5529
Northumberland Fusiliers	64	597	1857	901	700	4119
DLI	21	55	98	85	161	420
Coldstream Guards	32	11	17	16	21	97
Other Northern Command	12	53	59	219	378	721
Western Command	1	1	11	74	85	172
% of Infantry Dead	91%	93%	93%	90%	88%	91%
English Regiments (Other)		**8**	**37**	**41**	**71**	157
% of Infantry Dead	0%	1%	2%	3%	5%	3%
Total Irish Regiments	**3**	**26**	**95**	**51**	**53**	228
Royal Iniskilling Fusiliers		18	87	31	31	167
Other Irish Regiments	3	8	8	20	22	61
% of Infantry Dead	2%	3%	4%	4%	3%	4%
Total Scottish Regiments	**10**	**17**	**32**	**54**	**58**	171
% of Infantry Dead	7%	2%	1%	4%	4%	
Totals	143	768	2206	1441	1527	6085

Appendix C

Glasgow and Newcastle TAA Establishment, 1921-37.





Appendix D

Percentage of regular enlistments joining the County or Territorial regiment.

Recruitment Zone/Command	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927
Glasgow Sub Zone	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	6%
Scottish Command	33.00%	38.00%	50.50%	42.00%	47.00%	53.00%	53.00%	45.00%
Northumberland County Area	40.00%	32.00%	27.00%	9.00%	16.00%	35.00%	35.00%	23.00%
Northern Command	64.00%	57.00%	52.00%	38.00%	38.00%	38.00%	49.00%	44.00%
Total English Recruiting Zones	42.00%	46.00%	44.00%	37.00%	35.00%	35.00%	41.00%	33.00%

Recruitment Zone/Command	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Glasgow Sub Zone	18%	33%	35%	16%	20%	31%
Scottish Command	48.00%	53.00%	56.00%	47.00%	44.00%	50.00%
Northumbrian Zone (HQ Durham)	19.00%	25.00%	24.00%	38.00%	55.00%	45.00%
Northern Command	46.00%	51.00%	66.00%	55.00%	57.00%	56.00%
Total English Recruiting Zones	39.00%	39.00%	60.00%	54.00%	55.00%	59.00%

Recruitment Zone/Command	1934	1935	1936	1937
Lowland Area (HQ Glasgow)	34%	25.00%	67.00%	69.00%
Scottish Command	49.00%	48.00%	70.00%	68.00%
Northumbrian Area (HQ Darlington)	39.00%	22.00%	39.00%	49.00%
Northern Command	62.00%	55.00%	56.00%	57.00%
Total English Recruiting Zones	59.00%	64.00%	66.00%	63.00%

Percentages of recruits enlisting in the County or Territorial regiment from the *Annual Reports of the British Army*, 1920-1927

Appendix E

TABLE 3.—AGENCIES by which recruits finally approved during the years 1911–1912, 1912–13, 1920–21, and subsequent years were raised.

	1911–1912.	1912–1913.	1920–1921. (a)	1921–1922. (a)	1922–1923.	1923–1924.	1924–1925.	1925–1926.	1926–1927.
Zone Recruiting Staffs	15,010	13,148	18,789	5,257	3,204	2,970	3,366	3,032	3,426
Special Recruiters	2,894	2,739	6,655	8,113	3,682	1,813	2,099	1,496	1,647
Paid Pensioner Recruiters	11,801	11,666	14,752	20,933	19,267	20,221	21,016	18,735	17,626
Civilian Recruiting Agents	—	—	480	270	255	383	1,058	939	843
N.C.Os.and men on leave and serving	—	—	1,310	921					
Permanent Staff, Territorial Army....	—	—	2,040	3,899	3,739	4,105	4,125	4,568	4,262
At Headquarters of Units	—	—	—	61	97	51	86	74	76
Other Agencies	653	494	924	1,153	1,142	965	255	217	58
Total	30,358	28,047	44,950	40,607	31,386	30,508	32,005	29,061	27,938

(a) The figures in these columns include the numbers relating to the Southern Ireland recruiting zones, which, however, are not included in Table 1, Pages 8–11.

Army Report 1927, p.12.

Appendix F

Glasgow and Newcastle TAA Establishment/Strength, 1921-37.

City of Glasgow TAA Units	1921 Establishment Officers	Men	1921 Strength Officers	Men
QORGY	21	248	16	240
80th (Lowland) Bde., R.F.A.	26	500	24	21
78th (Lowland) Bde., R.F.A (1st Batt.)	6	121	5	108
Highland Divisional R.E. (Field Park Coy.)	2	83	x	x
1st (Glasgow) Heavy Bridging Coy. R.E.	x	x	7	81
1st (Scottish) Corp Signals	18	421	12	278
Lowland Divl. Signals	20	307	16	201
5th Bn. Cameronians	28	680	15	394
7th Bn. Cameronains	28	680	26	418
8th Bn. Cameronians	28	680	19	327
5th Bn. HLI	28	680	13	363
6th Bn. HLI	28	680	16	652
7th Bn. HLI	28	680	20	392
9th Bn. HLI	28	680	22	608
Lowland Divl. Train, R.A.S.C (Hd.-Qrs. And Nos. 1 and 3 Coys.)	12	151	9	137
Lowland Divl R.A.M.C (Hd.-Qrs.)	2	5	2	x
2nd Scottish C.C.S, R.A.M.C.	12	90	9	18
1st Lowland Fld Ambulance R.A.M.C.	12	90	7	63
2nd Lowland Fld Ambulance R.A.M.C.	8	103	5	65
3rd Scottish Gen Hosp., R.A.M.C	32	114	x	x
4th Scottish Gen Hosp., R.A.M.C	32	114	x	x
5th (Scottish) Sanitary Coy R.A.M.C	4	52	x	x
Lowland Divl. Ord. Coy., R.A.O.C.	4	50	x	x
Lowland Divl. R.A.V.C (Hd.-Qrs)	7	10	5	9
2nd Scottish Vet. Hosp., R.A.V.C.	3	30	2	20
Scottish Vet. Evac. Station, R.A.V.C.	1	13	1	13
Totals	414	7347	250	4817

City of Glasgow TAA units	1931 Est. Officers	Men	1931 Strength Officers	Men
101st Army Field Bde. R.A. (Hd.-Qrs. and 2 Batts.)	12	185	11	165
80th (Lowland) Bde., R.F.A.	22	353	20	338
78th (Lowland) Bde., R.F.A (1st Batt.)	5	84	6	75
52nd Divl. Signals (Hd-Qrs. And Nos. 1 and 2 Coys.)	20	367	18	313
230th Filed Art. Signal Section	1	21	1	20
5th/8th Bn. Cameronians	20	585	18	490
7th Bn. Cameronians	20	585	18	543
5th Bn. HLI	20	585	17	564
6th Bn. HLI	20	585	20	582
7th Bn. HLI	20	585	17	531
9th Bn. HLI	20	588	19	515
52nd (Lowland) Divisional Train (Less H.T.)	10	56	8	50
5th Hygiene Coy. R.A.M.C	4	59	4	58
52nd Ordnance Coy., R.A.O.C.	2	30	2	28
52nd Divsional R.A.V.C (Hd.-Qrs.)	5	4	6	3
Totals	201	4675	183	4275

City of Glasgow TAA units	1937 Est. Officers	Men	Strength Officers	Men
101st Army Field Bde. R.A. (Hd.-Qrs. and 2 Batts.)	12	179	16	175
80th (Lowland) Bde., R.F.A.	24	341	21	357
78th (Lowland) Bde., R.F.A (1st Batt.)	5	79	5	86
52nd Diviosional. Signals (Hd-Qrs. And Nos. 1 and 2 Coys.)	21	352	20	301
230th Field Artillery Signal Section	1	20	x	18
5th/8th Bn. Cameronians	25	589	14	332
7th Bn. Cameronians	25	589	26	389
5th Bn. HLI	25	589	26	398
6th Bn. HLI	25	592	20	549
7th Bn. HLI	25	589	18	457
9th Bn. HLI	25	592	20	452
52nd Divisional RASC (Less Ammunition Coy. And Details for Fd Amb.)	16	153	15	89
554th (non-Divl,(oy, R.A.S.C	4	56	4	31
3rd Scottish General Hospital, RAMC	3	24	x	x
4th Scottish General Hospital, RAMC	3	24	x	x
5th Hygiene Coy. R.A.M.C	4	59	2	57
52nd Divisional R.A.O.C.	3	74	3	29
52nd Divsional R.A.V.C (Hd.-Qrs.)	3	3	3	3
Totals	254	4904	209	3904

Newcastle based units, North'd TAA.	**1921 Est.** Officers	Men	**1921 Strength** Officers	Men
Northumberland Yeo. (Hd.-Qrs and A and C Squadron)	15	180	16	182
72nd (Northumbrian) Bde., R.F.A.	26	500	16	320
Northumbrian Divl. R.E. (Hd.-Qrs., Field Park Coy and 1 Field Coy.)	8	204	3	136
5th Bn. Northumberland Fusiliers	28	680	21	526
6th Bn. Northumberland Fusiliers	28	680	19	501
Northumbrian Divil. Train, R.A.S.C (No. 3 Coy)	3	59	2	41
Northumbrian Divl. R.A.M.C. (Hd.-Qrs)	2	5	2	1
1st Northumbrian Field Amb,. R.A.M.C	8	103	5	69
1st Northern C.C.S, R.A.M.C	12	90	5	34
1st Northern General Hospital	32	114		
6th (Northern) Sanitary Coy., R.A.M.C.	1	17		
1st Northern Vet. Hospital, R.A.V.C.	3	30	1	
Newcastle Totals	166	2662	90	1810
Northumberland TAA	256	4580	159	2874

Newcastle Units North'd TAA	1931 Officers	Est. Men	1931 Officers	Strength Men
Northumberland Hussars (Hd.-Quars & 2 Squadrons)	16	208	13	212
72nd (Northumbrian) Bde. Royal Artillery	22	401	21	394
50th Divl. Engineers (HQ & 1 Field Coy)	7	154	6	153
5th Bn. Northumberland Fusiliers	20	584	20	570
6th Bn. Northumberland Fusiliers	20	584	20	525
50th Divisional Treain (part)		18		12
50th Divisional R.A.M.C. (Hd.-Qrs)	1	3	1	1
149th (Northumbrian) Field Amb., R.A.M.C.	6	103	6	87
50th (1st Northern) C.C.S, R.A.M.C				
6th Hygiene Coy., R.A.M.C. (1 Section)	1	18	1	9
Newcastle Totals	93	2073	88	1963
Northumberland TAA	256	4580	159	2874

Newcastle units North'd TAA	**1937 Est.** Officers	Men	**1937 Strength** Officers	Men
Northumberland Hussars (Hd.-Quars & 2 Squadrons)	17	212	17	213
72nd Field Brigade., Royal Artillery	24	341	23	398
50th Divisonal Engineers (HQ & 1 Field Coy)	7	147	8	127
5th Bn. Northumberland Fusiliers	25	588	28	477
6th Bn. Northumberland Fusiliers	25	588	29	572
50th Divisional RASC (Details for Fd. Amb.)				
50th Divisional R.A.M.C. (Hd.-Qrs)	1	3	1	1
149th (Northumbrian) Field Amb., R.A.M.C.	6	103	6	103
50th (1st Northern) C.C.S, R.A.M.C	x	x	x	x
1st Northern General Hospital	3	24	1	x
6th Hygiene Coy., R.A.M.C (1 Sect)	1	18	1	16
Totals Newcastle	109	2024	114	1907
Totals North'd	233	5130	225	4166

Appendix G

Glasgow Service Based Associations

Regimental Association Branches in Glasgow
Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders
Black Watch
Cameronians
Gordon Highlanders
HLI
King's Own Scottish Borderers
Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders
Royal Army Service Corps
Royal Artillery
Royal Engineers
Royal Scots Fusiliers
Royal Scots Greys
Royal Scots Regiment
Royal Tank Corps
Scots Guards
Seaforth Highlanders

Volunteer Unit/Territorial Battalion Association
Ex-RNVR Association
3rd LRV
5th Cameronians
Glasgow Yeomanry
6th HLI
7th HLI
London Scottish
Lovat Scouts

Service Battalion/Wartime unit Association
10th Black Watch
13th HLI
15th HLI
16th HLI
17th HLI
Imperial Camel Corps
5th QOCH
6th QOCH Reunion Club
Machine Gun Corps

Other National Association branches
Old Contemptibles
South African War Veterans Association

Other (Unknown)
Royal Naval Association (Glasgow & District)

Appendix H

Newcastle Service Based Associations

Regimental Association Branches
DLI
Coldstream Guards
Northumberland Fusiliers
Royal Army Service Corps
Royal Artillery
Royal Engineers
Green Howards (intermittent)

Volunteer Unit/Territorial Battalion Association
RNVR Association
Northern Cyclists
Elswick Battery, 1st Northumberland Artillery
6th Northumberland Fusiliers OCA

Service Battalion/Wartime unit Association
9th DLI
12th/13th DLI
8th Northumberland Fusiliers
11th Northumberland Fusiliers (intermittent)
12th&13th Northumberland Fusiliers
2nd reserve battalion, 15th Northumberland Fusiliers
16th Northumberland Fusiliers Comrades League
18th Northumberland Fusiliers Comrades League
19th Northumberland Fusiliers Comrades League
Royal Naval Divison Association
Tyneside Irish
Tyneside Scottish

Other National Association branches
Old Contemptibles

Local
Tyneside Reunion Ex-Naval Men
South African War Volunteers Association
Northumberland Veterans Association

Appendix I

Newcastle Civic Offices 1920-38: Occupations and Labour members

	Lord Mayor	Occupation	**Sheriff**	Occupation	**Deputy Lord Mayor**	Occupation
1919	Walter Lee	Shipping Purveyor	Richard Mayne	Printer	John Barker	Unknown
1920	Thomas W Rowe	Cinema Proprietor	Anthony Oates	Wholesale Grocer	Richard Mayne	Printer
1921	Richard Millican	Glass & Oil Merchant	James Lunn	Builder	Arthur Lambert	China Merchant
1922	William Bramble	Draper/Boot Dealer	David Adams	Shipowner	Thomas W Rowe	Cinema Proprietor
1923	Stephen Easten	Builder	Arthur Lambert	China Merchant	W R Simpson	Surgeon
1924	Walter Lee	Shipping Purveyor	John Grantham	Cinema Proprietor	Thomas A Lowe	Draper
1925	Anthony Oates	Wholesale Grocer	Robert J Thompson	Shipowner	Walter V Longfield	Fruit Merchant
1926	Arthur Lambert	China Merchant	Robert Stanley Dalgleish	Shipowner	Richard H Millican	Glass & Oil Colour Merchant
1927	Stephen Easten	Builder	Joseph Stephenson	Fruit Merchant	R H Simpson	Surgeon
1928	Arthur Lambert	China Merchant	Robert Stanley Dalgleish	Shipowner	Richard H Millican	Glass & Oil Colour Merchant
1929	Joseph Stephenson	Fruit Merchant	John George Nixon	Chartered Accountant	Dr. J W Leech	Surgeon
1930	David Adams	Shipowner	Dr. J W Leech	Surgeon	Walter Lee	Shipping Purveyor
1931	John George Nixon Jnr	Chartered Accountant	John Leadbitter	Tailor	John Crosby	Baker
1932	Dr J W Leech	Surgeon	Joseph W Telford	Draper	Angus Watson	Industrialist
1933	John Leadbitter	Tailor	William Locke	Colliery Checkweighman	Arthur Patton	Plumber
1934	Robert S Dalgleish	Shipowner	Gilbert Oliver	Tailor	William R Wallace	Hosier & Hatter
1935	William Locke	Colliery Checkweighman	William R Wallace	Hosier & Hatter	William Taylor	Blacksmith
1936	John Grantham	Cinema Proprietor	Adamson Dawson Russell	Auctioneer	Richard J Richardson	Painter & General Decorator
1937	Gilbert Oliver	Tailor	John E Scanlan	Railway Foreman	Thomas McCutcheon	Blacksmith
1938	William R Wallace	Hosier & Hatter	George Dixon	Draper	Thomas Clements	Builder

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Glasgow Chamber of Commerce Collection
Glasgow Stock Exchange Records
Burgh Labour Party Records
ILP (Glasgow) Archives

Royal Highland Fusiliers Museum Archive, Glasgow
Scrapbooks
Photograph Albums
Press Cuttings Books
Enlistment Books

Lowland Reserve & Auxiliary Forces Centre
Glasgow Territorial Army Association Minutes
Glasgow Territorial Army Association Scrapbook

Glasgow Caledonian University Archives
Glasgow Trades Council Records
Scottish Trade Union Records

Special Collections, Glasgow University Library
6th Battalion, QOCH, Reunion Club Records
Press Cuttings, Kelvin Hall.

Glasgow Museums Resource Centre Archives
Newscuttings Books

South Lanarkshire Museum & Archives
Cameronians Archive, Miscellaneous Scrapbooks
Records of the Cameronians' Regimental Association
Enlistment Books

King's Own Scottish Borderers Regimental Museum Archives
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Burgh Labour Party Records (Minutes & Reports)
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Records of Vickers Armstrong
Stephen Easten Press Cuttings Book
Records of the Tyne Division, RNVR

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Northumberland Territorial Army Association Records
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Fusiliers Museum Archive, Alnwick
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Photographic Collection
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